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COMPARATIVE

REFLECTIONS

ON THE PAST AND PRESENT

POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND CIVIL STATE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

COMPARATIVE

REFLECTIONS

ON THE PAST AND PRESENT

POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND CIVIL STATE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN:

WITH SOME

THOUGHTS CONCERNING EMIGRATION.

BY RICHARD CHAMPION, ESQ.

LATE DEPUTY PAYMASTER GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES, AND AUTHOR OF CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SITUATION OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH RESPECT TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Scito mihi unquam fuisse tam infame, tam turpe, tam peræque omnibus generibus, ordinibus, ætatibus offensum, quam hunc statum qui nunc est. — Certe sumus periisse omnia: Quid enim ἀκκιζόμεθα tamdiu? Sed hæc scripsi properans, et mehercule timide.

CIC. ad ATT.

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REFLECTIONS,

LETTER I.

CONTAINING

THE AUTHOR'S MOTIVES

FOR

LEAVING ENGLAND,

AND A

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO

THESE REFLECTIONS.

Fortuna ſævo læta negotio, et
Ludam inſolentem ludere pertinax,
Tranſmutat incertos honores
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem. Si celeras quatit
Pennas, reſigno quæ dedit, et meo
Virtuto me inſolvo, probamque
Pauperiem ſine dote quæro.

HOR.

REFLECTIONS, &c.

LETTER I.

TO ———

THE affairs of Great Britain, which have been for many years in a dangerous ſituation, are now advancing rapidly to a criſis. I do not remember any period in her hiſtory, ſince ſhe has called herſelf a great nation, which has afforded ſo many ſolid grounds of apprehenſion for the event. As an individual, anxiouſly concerned for her welfare, I feel a moſt ſenſible regret, when I reflect how cloſely ſhe has brought herſelf to the precipice of irrecoverable

ruin. Guiltleſs of her follies, having performed my duty to her as a ſubject, and finding my own particular ſituation ſo much involved in the late political events, as to render my private duties incompatible with a longer continuance under her government, I conceive myſelf fully juſtified in the reſolution which I have now taken. Theſe duties, urging me to a timely and provident care of a heavy charge which lies upon me, made me think it prudent to put in execution a plan which the infatuated ſyſtem of government in my native country has long prepared me for, and which has, therefore, been the frequent ſubject of my ſerious thoughts.

It is a happineſs, which is the envied lot of Engliſh Whigs, that there is a country, inhabited by Engliſhmen, once fellow ſubjects, and always dear to them, where the laws, the language, and the manners, will preſerve conſtantly in her remembrance, the ſtate of their native country in her beſt days. I am going to take refuge

in

in this country with a numerous family. I do it thus early, leſt the difficulties, already great in England, ſhould increaſe to ſuch a degree, as to make the removal of a family unpleaſant and inconvenient.

I have been long deſirous of paying a viſit to America. During the year 1783, I had the fulleſt expectation of accompliſhing my purpoſe, and of appearing there in a ſtation which, affording me the powerful means of exerting very zealous endeavours for the reſtoration of the loſt affections of that country, would have gratified my higheſt wiſhes. I perceived, with grateful feelings, the wiſhes of the citizens of the United States to caſt the veil of oblivion over the violently impolitic and exaſperating ſcenes which had paſſed, and to renew the friendly attachment of ancient times.

I therefore, at an early period after the peace, (immediately on the adminiſtration of the Duke of Portland being declared)

ſolicited the honourable ſtation of Conſul to the United States. I had, by an aſſiduous attention to the affairs of America for above twenty years, obtained a very conſiderable knowledge of the reſources of that country. Conceiving, therefore, my abilities not to be ill adapted to this ſtation, I had the confidence to believe that I ſhould not in any ſhape have diſcredited the appointment.

I conſidered myſelf, in another view, not to be an improper (I might, perhaps, have proved an uſeful) perſon in ſuch an employment. My conduct during every ſtage of the late unhappy diſputes had been decided and conſiſtent. I always acted with the ſtricteſt regard to the true intereſts of both nations, in ſupporting, by all poſſible means within my powers and abilities, thoſe meaſures which tended either to preſerve the affairs of America upon its ancient ſyſtem, to prevent the late unnatural war, to impede its monſtrous and deſtructive growth, or to promote

mote the return of peace. I had reaſon, therefore, to expect the moſt friendly reception.

When a negociation for a treaty of commerce (if it merit the name, ſince it miſcarried ſo early as to leave almoſt a doubt of its conception) was firſt mentioned, and I had been made acquainted with the intention of Adminiſtration to appoint me Conſul to the United States, the Miniſter did me the honour to put ſome papers relative to the American trade into my hands, with a deſire to have my ſentiments upon them. I collected my own papers on that ſubject, which I arranged during the ſummer of 1783, and drew up conſiderations on the commercial connections of the two countries, with a view of throwing every poſſible light upon the ſubject, for the information of Government. Theſe I preſented to the Miniſter. But as the Adminiſtration was ſoon after changed, I thought it proper, expecting that it would ſhortly become the object of

parliamentary deliberation, to offer them to the public. I have ſince added a propoſed act of parliament, which, I am juſtified in ſaying, from the opinion of men of the firſt abilities, knowledge, and integrity, is adapted to the true intereſts of both countries, and to which no reaſonable objections can be made.

I have met with the fate of many others who have trodden the ſame path. The conſciouſneſs of having done my duty has been the only reward of my labours. It has not, however, been the only return; for I have had the end of theſe very labours, founded upon principles in which the proſperity of Great Britain was moſt eſſentially concerned, either groſſly miſunderſtood, or groſſly perverted. They have been mentioned by men, now in high ſtations, as the objections (it was civilly added, the only ones that could be made) to my filling the appointment which had been deſigned for me. I do not know whether the cenſures which have been

thrown

thrown upon me, for the ſentiments contained in that work, merit my attention, or render the few obſervations which I ſhall make upon them at all neceſſary: but I can confidently ſay, truſting to the rectitude of my intentions, and to innocency of deſign, either to do injury myſelf, or to be the cauſe of it to any perſon whatever, that I hear theſe cenſures unmoved.

By ſome I have been called an American agent. By one writer I am ſtiled, "the Apologiſt of Congreſs." If being an advocate for the rights of mankind—an advocate for peace—an advocate for the return of thoſe good offices which formerly diſtinguiſhed Great Britain and her Colonies — an advocate for the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe meaſures which had raiſed the glory of England to an height unknown ſince that of the Romans was extinguiſhed, is being a profeſſed apologiſt for Congreſs, I acknowledge that I am one, and I glory in the title. If it be a

crime

crime to have lamented over the meaſures which marked out for deſtruction thoſe beautiful and riſing colonies, which the foſtering hand of Britain had raiſed for her grandeur and happineſs, I am a criminal indeed. I would be an apologiſt if I could; but it ſhould be for thoſe meaſures which diſgrace the annals of my native country; and which (perhaps this may be deemed a crime) I wiſh to ſee buried for ever in a cordial reconciliation.

Is it poſſible for any one, who, with the manly Gown, received thoſe ſtrong impreſſions of glory, which the victories of Engliſhmen fixed upon his youthful mind, and which have ſince been defaced in the duſt—is it poſſible, I ſay, for ſuch a perſon to part from England without the deepeſt regret? — The peace of 1763 had left her in poſſeſſion of a name which was a paſſport through the globe. The peace of 1783 has left that name ſunk, debaſed, and treated with contempt by every petty nation in Europe. Muſt I

not,

not, therefore, leave my country with the moſt bitter reflections, who have been the melancholy ſpectator of this gloomy reverſe of fortune?

It was a mortification to me to be obliged to leave England before the winter. I was deprived by it of the ſatisfaction of taking leave of many valuable friends, whom the receſs of Parliament had diſperſed in their ſeveral counties. But ſuch was the diſguſting and ungentleman-like behaviour of my ſucceſſor in office, (a ſtrong proof from the obliging, though fruitleſs, interpoſition of his principal, of the wretched ſyſtem of controlling every man of rank in Adminiſtration) that I could not ſtay till the ſpring without very conſiderable trouble and expence. I was obliged, therefore, to deny myſelf this gratification.

The laſt ſight of the Britiſh ſhore ſunk deep into my heart, and left an impreſ-

ſion

ſion which will not eaſily be eraſed. The evening we parted from it was ſerene, and the ſun dipped his beams to the weſtward in a calm and unruffled ocean. The Lizard Point was in view.

Nos manet oceanus circumvagus.

For earth—ſurrounding ſea our flight awaits.
Francis's Horace.

Peace and tranquillity ſat upon the boſom of the vaſt Atlantic, and pointed out the way we were to go; whilſt the gathering diſtant clouds, which hung over the land, ſeemed to tell us, that it was time to leave infatuated Britain. I tremble for you and for the excellent friends whom I have left behind me; and from whom, had I been a ſingle individual, I could not without difficulty have torne myſelf: and I offer my moſt fervent prayers to that Almighty Being who holds the ſcale of empires, that your woes may be light; and that when our country comes in the approach-

ing

ing criſis to be weighed in the balance, ſhe may be ſo thoroughly purged from her droſs, as to appear again with brighter luſtre.

I owe to you, and to my friends, the opinions which I have formed upon the preſent ſituation of affairs in England, and upon which my conduct in leaving it was founded. I mean to offer to your conſideration the preſent ſtate of its government, of its trade, and of its manners; and, drawing a compariſon between their preſent and former ſtate, I ſhall endeavour to prove to you — that the government of Great Britain is deranged in ſuch a manner, as to afford, in its preſent condition, little or no hope of remedy — that our commerce, which, like a candle going out, has juſt emitted a ſtrong and fervid light, is groaning under ſuch foreign and domeſtic burdens, as muſt inevitably reduce it to a very low ſtate — and that the preſent ſtile of living in England is attended with

with ſuch an enormous expence, without an adequate means of ſupport, as to make the firſt national calamity a ſure and certain ſign of a great and general deſtruction of property amongſt all ranks and diſtinctions of men.

From theſe conſiderations I ſhall ſhew the probability of a great emigration of its people, whom neceſſity will drive from home; and I ſhall then draw ſuch uſeful inferences, as will, by a timely exertion of their preſent abilities, preſerve them againſt the worſt conſequences of the ſtorm.

I ſhall confine myſelf as cloſely as I can to plain matters of fact; forming ſuch concluſions only as thoſe facts will juſtify to the moſt common underſtanding. In this ſpirit, therefore, of plainneſs and ſimplicity, the moſt conſiſtent with the manners of a republic, of which I hope ſoon to become a citizen; and taking my leave of all other titles and diſtinctions

than

than thoſe which ariſe from the honourable functions of magiſtracy, I content myſelf with offering you my moſt fervent wiſhes for your health and happineſs, and bidding you heartily farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Oct. 20, 1784

LETTER

LETTER II.

ON THE

NATIONAL DEBT AND PEACE ESTABLISHMENT,

AND ON THE

STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT

CONTRASTED AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

But the eſtabliſhment of public funds, on the credit of taxes, hath been productive of more and greater miſchiefs than the taxes themſelves; not only by increaſing the means of corruption, and the power of the Crown, but by the effect it has had on the ſpirit of the nation, on our manners, and our morals. It is impoſſible to look back without grief, on the neceſſary and unavoidable conſequence of this eſtabliſhment; or without indignation on that myſtery of iniquity *, to which this eſtabliſhment gave occaſion, which has been raiſed upon it, and carried on for almoſt half a century by means of it. It is impoſſible to look forward without horror on the conſequences that may ſtill follow.

Bolingbroke upon Parties.

* Stockjobbing.

LETTER II.

TO ——————

I SHALL reſume the ſubject of my laſt letter. The ſituation in which Great Britain was left at the peace of 1783, required the ableſt and moſt ſettled adminiſtration that the country could produce. Such an adminiſtration was eſſentially neceſſary to her, in the condition to which ſhe had been reduced by the late unfortunate war; one of the wretched conſequences of the weak and disjointed ſyſtem upon which ſhe has been governed (a ſhort period excepted) during the preſent reign.

But inſtead of a regular and ſettled government, adminiſtration has ſucceeded adminiſtration, like puppets at a ſhow. About twenty months have paſſed ſince

the peace. Within this ſhort period there have been no leſs than three adminiſtrations, each acting upon principles diametrically oppoſite to the other. Frequent changes in government will materially injure even a flouriſhing country. To a nation, therefore, exhauſted by a long and unſucceſsful war, they muſt be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences.

The plaineſt method of demonſtrating this wretched ſtate of the country, is, by the application of facts. For that purpoſe I ſhall begin with the year 1754, a period within the remembrance of the greater part of us, and continuing it to the preſent time, I ſhall form ſuch occaſional compariſons as are adapted to the ſubject.

The intereſt upon the national debt, and the expence of the peace eſtabliſhment; the revenues of the cuſtoms and exciſe, and of the taxes, which were firſt, and have ſince been, impoſed, to defray the charge of government, at different periods, will

will more diſtinctly ſhew the ſituation of the country.

They were as follow:

	Debt.	Intereſt.	The whole peace eſtabliſhment.	Increaſe.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
1754	75,000,000	2,650,000	6,500,000	
1774	136,000,000	4,200,000	10,000,000	3,500,000
1784	250,000,000	9,500,000	15,000,000	8,500,000

The increaſe of the national debt, and of the additional burdens neceſſary to diſcharge the intereſt, have produced the natural conſequence — a decay of our credit, and a decreaſe in value of our property. The price of the funds have ſunk, from about one hundred and five to leſs than fifty-five, during the period of which we are treating. They do not at preſent greatly exceed one half of their value in the year 1754. The careful father, who had laid out in the funds ten thouſand pounds, as a future proviſion for his family, now feels a ſenſible diſappointment at the decreaſe of their portion to the

poor pittance of five thouſand five hundred pounds. The income which it produced, of two hundred and eighty pounds per annum, then afforded him the comforts of life. At this time, when all our expences are extravagantly enhanced, they barely ſupply the neceſſaries. But his grievances are not confined to reduction of capital, and increaſe of expence; he is farther compelled to endure the additional national burden of upwards of nine millions per annum, accumulated taxes.

In giving this account of the exhauſted and dangerous ſtate of the kingdom, I am aware of one, though an ill-timed, objection, that may be urged againſt me. I may be told, that the ſame deſponding language has been uſed in all periods in our hiſtory; and that there has ſeldom been a year in which volumes have not been written to prove, that our commerce was in a ſtate of decay, and that our ruin ſtared us in the face: but the times in which we live are attended with very aggravated

gravated circumſtances. We have ſunk from an immenſe power and greatneſs. Our pangs are the pangs of a giant, torn to pieces by the violence of a fever raging in his veins. In the dreadful paroxiſms of the diſeaſe, his whole frame is convulſed.

Though we have for many years outlived theſe predictions, yet our preſent ſituation proves, that they were formed upon very ſolid grounds. The fears of thoſe who have written upon the ſubject, appear to have ariſen from the ſtate of the national debt. They ſaw the foundation laid for a building, which, though at firſt deſigned to be merely temporary, ſoon ſwelled to a great ſize, and is ſince become an immenſe ſtructure. In a ſhort time after its eſtabliſhment, the national debt increaſed with a rapidity that left very little hope of ſeeing it paid off. An annual grant of taxes was made to the Crown, to defray the intereſt. This ſoon became perpetual. The view, therefore, of thoſe

who were thus apprehenſive for poſterity, was far from being imperfect. They felt the force of the ſchool boy's reaſoning, when he could not be prevailed upon to ſay A. The repetition of A produced the repetition of B, and we have at length been forced through the whole alphabet.

When the national debt became a permanent fund, and permanent taxes were laid to pay the intereſt, a ſpeculation was made how much debt the public could bear without injury. One of our miniſters conceived, from the then difficulty of finding reſources, that the national debt could never exceed one hundred millions without a manifeſt injury to the public. He judged, probably, from the value of money. When the nation owed ſeventy-five millions, the funds bore a premium of five per cent.

In proportion as the debt increaſed, the premium decreaſed. This proves that one hundred millions of debt, at three per cent.

cent. per annum intereſt, which is the ſtandard of our funds, would have made their value nearly the par of one hundred pounds. The national debt cannot, therefore, by a parity of reaſoning, be extended beyond this limit, and the national proſperity at the ſame time maintained. Unleſs ſome acquiſitions, either in commerce or dominion, compenſated for a temporary increaſe, by putting us in a condition to diſcharge the ſurplus in time of peace.

Had the Government under the préſent reign been placed in able hands, the valuable acquiſitions which were made in the war of 1756 would have effected this purpoſe. When the whole expences of that war were wound up, and the funds had recovered their peaceful tone, the three per cents., which is a low intereſt, and has been always conſidered as a profitable ſtandard, ſettled at about ten per cent. under the par of one hundred. The advantages which theſe acquiſitions produced,

duced, afford us ſufficient grounds to ſuppoſe that had they been properly improved, the ſurplus debt might have been diſcharged, and the price of the funds increaſed to their ſtandard value.

Their effects were very conſpicuous in the general improvements of the kingdom, in its fertiliſed lands, in a great and extended commerce, and in a diſplay of riches and magnificence in all orders of the State. What has been ſaid upon this ſubject certainly proves, that had the ſurplus debt been paid off, the nation could have borne one hundred millions of debt, inveſted in permanent funds, without decreaſing the value of money; and that every addition made to it is a loſs, which falls upon the various branches of our property.

The effects of this national proſperity are ſtill viſible; and, although the ſources from whence they ſprung are nearly exhauſted, the luxurious and expenſive man-

ner

ner of living which it produced, ſtill remains. Sober men will reflect upon the means by which theſe expences are to be defrayed. They will conſider the magnificence of our appearance, and the coſtlineſs of our tables, as mere ſtumbling blocks, which deceive our eyes, and corrupt our manners. They will naturally draw a compariſon between the times when theſe riches were collected, and the preſent age, in which they are daily diminiſhing and melting away, and in which there is no other accumulation than that of expence.

In this examination they will find, that theſe riches were the production of a flouriſhing commerce, increaſed by a train of victories and conqueſts. They repaid in value the expence of the war, by the centering of almoſt the whole of the French trade in our ports — by the total deſtruction of the little that was left to France — by the annihilation of the naval power of the Houſe of Bourbon — and by the poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of nearly their whole colonial empire, and a valuable part of that of Spain.

Theſe great and glorious acquiſitions, a great part of which was, and a much greater part of which might have been, retained at the peace of 1763, were purchaſed at the price of ſixty-five millions of national debt; increaſing the whole debt to about one hundred and forty millions, and making an exceſs of forty millions above the one hundred millions of debt, which the nation appeared to be capable of bearing without injury. This exceſs of forty millions of debt might, under an able adminiſtration of the great empire in our poſſeſſion, have been in the courſe of a few years diſcharged.

Such is the examination of the times in which thoſe riches which ſtill remain among us were accumulated. We ſhall now enter into the conſideration of thoſe in which we live: but, how melancholy is the contraſt!

We

We are now, as we were in the year 1763, at peace. Our Government is feeble and deraged. Our national debt, when the expences of the war are wound up, will be nearly doubled. The fruits of the glorious war of 1756 are almoſt wholly loſt. Our ancient, powerful, and wonderfully-increaſing colonies, forming an immenſe empire, are torn from us; and our remaining colonial poſſeſſions either in gradual decay, or in great and imminent danger. Our ſiſter kingdom in a ſtate of miſerable confuſion; whilſt the mother country is bending under the preſſure of more than fifteen millions, annually impoſed upon her, to diſcharge the intereſt of her national debt, and to ſupport her peace eſtabliſhment.

If we inquire into the revenue from whence theſe fifteen millions ought to be drawn, we ſhall find it in the moſt precarious ſituation. This ariſes from the continual inroads made upon the cuſtoms and exciſe by the ſmuggler; from the decay

of

of trade, occaſioning many unproductive taxes; and from other contingent circumſtances; conſequences which uſually happen to a nation in a declining condition.

It is the opinion of thoſe moſt converſant in the revenue, that more than twelve millions cannot poſſibly be raiſed toward its diſcharge. The diſtreſs of an individual, and the diſtreſſes of the public, are equally deſtructive to them. They never borrow but with diſadvantage; and never pay but with accumulated intereſt. Whatever deficiencies there are in the ways and means provided by Parliament, they muſt be borrowed, and freſh taxes muſt be raiſed to defray the intereſt: at leaſt, the forms muſt be paſſed through; though it is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive, that the people can bear an addition to their preſent impoſitions.

It is much more probable, that they will be incapable of paying even thoſe which are already exacted from them.

Govern-

Government muſt take great care that they do not, by weight of taxes, deſtroy the means from whence theſe taxes are to ariſe. If you want your horſes to be in good condition, and to labour hard, you muſt take care to feed them well. Should you deprive them of their oats, they will not be capable of doing much work.

The diſplay of our riches will ſerve with many for argument. Though it may be plauſible, it is very futile. The appearances of grandeur remain long after the reſources are gone, and the power which protects them is loſt. But there is one circumſtance which makes me very much doubt the exiſtence of ſo much real wealth, eſpecially in ſilver plate, as there was ſome years ago: this is the decreaſe of ſilver veſſels in families, and the very great increaſe of ſilver plated ones; the whole of which is an entire loſs to the ſtate. This branch of trade certainly requires conſideration.

But, ſuppoſing that our empire was as extenſive, our commerce as flouriſhing, and our revenues as ſecure, as they were at the peace of 1763, ſtill the charge of fifteen millions per annum would be found to be a very ſevere burden; and if thus ſevere in the heighth of proſperity, how much more difficult muſt it be for the nation to bear, in its preſent diſtreſſed condition?

I have given the ſtate of the national debt, the annual revenue and taxes which are to be raiſed for the payment of the intereſt, and for the peace eſtabliſhment of the kingdom. I have not been able to inſert the exact fractional ſums, as I have not materials to recur to; I have, therefore, placed them in round numbers: but I venture confidently to aſſert, that theſe numbers are ſo very near the preciſe ſums, as to ſatisfy every reaſonable perſon. I have alſo formed a ſhort comparative view of the former and preſent ſtate of the nation, and the probability, not only of the people's incapacity to bear any freſh impoſitions,

poſitions, but even of the decreaſe of the preſent ſcanty revenue.

I ſhall in my next letter take a ſhort view of the ſyſtem of government which has prevailed under the preſent reign. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
October 21, 1784.

LETTER III.

UPON THE

NEW SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCED IN THE

PRESENT REIGN.

Fert animus cauſas, tantarum expromere rerum,
Immenſumque aperitur, opus quid in arma furentem
Impulerit populum, quid pacem excuſſerit orbi.

LUCAN.

LETTER III.

TO ——————

THE practical ſyſtem of government which has prevailed under the preſent reign, was originally arranged in the family of the late Princeſs Dowager of Wales, and carried into execution by the Earl of Bute on the King's acceſſion to the throne. It has generated all the effects which the framers propoſed to themſelves; for it has ſhaken the confidence of family connections, weakened the habits of reſpect for Adminiſtration, totally deſtroyed the ſtability of Government, and finally been productive of all the calamities which have befallen the nation. The Adminiſtration has been bandied about in ſuch a manner, that Government has neither grace nor vigour left in it: like a

woman, whoſe beauty might have animated deſire and commanded reſpect, when united with virtue, ſhe begets loathing and excites contempt when deformed by proſtitution.

We meet with many inſtances, even in thoſe times when the Adminiſtration was ſtable and permanent, of miniſters of a weak capacity for government. Such men were uſually directed by ſome favourite, who exerciſed the power of his maſter, and generally with greater ability. The weakneſs of the miniſter might, perhaps, ſometimes excite a ſmile within the circle of the Court. Still, as he poſſeſſed the actual power, he poſſeſſed the influence of his place, and had all the credit with the public, and preſerved the reſpect due to his rank. But the ſmalleſt trace cannot be found of a miniſter who had the meanneſs to ſubmit to be governed by ſome ſecretary, expreſſly placed about his perſon as a ſpy upon his actions, in order to retain his obedience to a cabal in the cloſet,

cloſet, who are the *efficient*, though they have neither rank nor conſequence to form even the oſtenſible, Adminiſtration.

In the firſt inſtance, ſhould a miniſter be directed by his favourite, it is yet a favourite of his own creation, and does not derogate from his general conſequence in the eyes of the public. He can reſume the power which he delegates whenever he thinks proper; but, in the latter caſe, the oſtenſible miniſter is a mere tool, a ſtage puppet, acting at the diſcretion of another, without will or opinion of his own. Since the introduction of the new ſyſtem, we have ſeen this management of miniſters practiſed in almoſt every department of Government. Every great officer of ſtate has a ſecratary, or deputy, impoſed upon him. A Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is under the ſame tutelage. The place of firſt miniſter has yet ſtronger guards.

The oſtenſible miniſters are, in general, confined to the care of the ſeveral depart-

ments, and are made reſponſible alone for them. The cabal too prevalently keeps, for the important purpoſes of Government, ſome ſecretary about the perſon of the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury to receive their orders: and, on the like occaſions, ſome inviſible, though powerful, agent to manifeſt their pleaſure. The oſtenſible miniſters are not only directed to obey their commands, when ſignified in this manner, but have frequently ſuffered the diſgrace of having meaſures impoſed upon them in the Houſe of Commons, without any previous communication with them.

The characteriſtic of almoſt every Adminiſtration under this reign has been an heterogeneous mixture of debility and inſolence, tyranny and corruption. Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Portland, who governed during the very ſhort periods of their adminiſtration, upon the old ſyſtem, are the only exceptions. And, in general, the councils more immediately attendant upon the Crown, have been actuated

actuated by theſe principles, in oppoſition to the ſyſtem of Adminiſtration carried on under the reigns of the two firſt princes of the Brunſwick family. Theſe two ſyſtems have been called by a variety of names. By ſome they have been thus diſtinguiſhed: the one by that of a prerogative, the other by that of an ariſtocratical government. I will endeavour to explain the principles of each.

The ſyſtem which prevailed under the two firſt reigns of this family was the ſame that has been ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of an ariſtocratical government. The Adminiſtration was ſelected from the principal Whig families, who all concurred in the ſupport of the perſon placed at the head of the Treaſury, to whom they were generally united by long habits of attachment. All the other officers were made properly ſubordinate to, and dependent upon, his department. They yielded to him the rank of firſt miniſter, and ſhewed an example to their fellow

ſubjects

ſubjects in the deference and reſpect which they paid to him.

Under this ſyſtem, that excellent maxim in the Conſtitution, " the King can do no " wrong," was holden ſacred. This doctrine, eſſentially neceſſary to a Whig government, which conſiders the King as not performing any act in his own perſon, makes all his miniſters reſponſible for every meaſure which they execute in his name. Were it, therefore, poſſible that the King ſhould require the execution of any meaſure inconſiſtent with the public welfare, it is the miniſter who executes, and not the King who directs, that is reſponſible. Every miniſter is thus reſponſible in his department; but as the firſt miniſter has the management of the ſupplies of money granted by the Houſe of Commons, more particularly entruſted to his care, and as he is by common conſent the chief adminiſtrator, he is conſidered particularly reſponſible for all the meaſures of government.

This

This ſyſtem was maintained by a combination of the whole of the landed property, and all the great family intereſts of the Whigs, as well as by the principal monied men. Extenſive connections amongſt the people produced an active and vigorous ſupport of the meaſures of government: and, being poſſeſſed of power, all thoſe who were ſwayed by intereſt, which has conſiderable weight amongſt a commercial people, were attached to Adminiſtration. As the miniſter grounded his ſtrength upon a majority in the Houſe of Commons, his friends were ſolicitous that this influence ſhould pervade all parts of the kingdom, particularly thoſe places which returned members to Parliament.

Whilſt the miniſter remained in poſſeſſion of this ſtrength in Parliament, it was not in the power of the Crown, without the utmoſt difficulty, to diſplace him. The loſs of this majority was owing to the increaſe of the oppoſition to him in the Houſe of Commons; either from his own

ill

ill conduct, or from ſome unpopular meaſure, with the weight of which his opponents overpowered him.

A ſtrong oppoſition in Parliament was then conſidered as an acceſſary help to the Conſtitution; a neceſſary control over the meaſures of the miniſter. The Oppoſition was, therefore, no ſooner become the majority of the Houſe of Commons, than the miniſter was ſuppoſed incapable, from guilt or inability, and his reſignation followed in courſe. The withſtanding the power of the Houſe of Commons was a phenomenon reſerved for more unhappy times.

During the period of which we have been ſpeaking there were no miniſters of very ſtriking abilities; and there were ſome, who, in their capacity for government, were remarkably deficient; yet, from the long and ſteady habits which are eſſential to a good government, the country had a continual increaſe of wealth

and

and vigour till it attained to the firſt rank of power and influence in Europe. Theſe habits of a ſettled government are not eaſily deſtroyed. The Whigs, having been in poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration for near fifty years, were ſo much maſters of the elections, that, notwithſtanding almoſt all the Parliaments of this reign have acted in obedience to the new ſyſtem, they have conſiſted more of apoſtate Whigs than of real Tories.

This was the ſyſtem of government carried on under the reigns of the Kings George the Firſt and George the Second. It muſt be goading to royalty to be thus continually fettered: but it muſt at the ſame time be confeſſed by even its moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters, that there never was a period of our hiſtory, taking it in a general view from the acceſſion of the Brunſwick kings, of greater national proſperity.

To

To deſtroy this ſyſtem of government has been too uniformly and too eagerly attempted. The preſent King mounted the throne with many qualities, which engaged the affections of his ſubjects. He was young, born amongſt them, of a grave and ſedate turn, and wholly free from the diſſipated manners of the young men of this age. He married, grew fond of a domeſtic life; his chief pleaſures appearing to be centered in his family. Such virtues of the man, joined to the virtues of the king, muſt always prove highly eſtimable. The firſt qualities, however, will conſtantly endear a monarch to his people. His favourites did not neglect this diſpoſition.

The Court breathed nothing but complaints againſt the ariſtocratical thraldom in which both King and people were ſaid to be confined. They cried out loudly upon the neceſſity of a prince of ſuch hopes, being actually veſted with the adminiſtration

miniſtration of his own affairs. He would then, they ſaid, be able to diſtinguiſh men of virtue and talents, and to open the door to thoſe qualities which an unjuſt combination of a few families of great parliamentary intereſt had ſhut up for the uſe alone of themſelves and their dependents.

By fomenting the prejudices and provoking the paſſions of thoſe men who compoſed the adminiſtration of George the Second, at the time of his death; by intrigues in families; by liberal promiſes of rewards, adapted to the ſeveral deſires of thoſe upon whom they thus practiſed, the Court, at length, eſtabliſhed the truth of the maxim, "to divide is to command." They received all thoſe who came over to them with open arms. By the accompliſhment of this principle, they eſtabliſhed the new ſyſtem of government. The former ſteady and permanent ſyſtem was thus gradually put an end to. The regularity of manners, which had diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed the period of the two preceding reigns, inſenſibly followed.

The effect of this conduct ſoon appeared in the Houſe of Commons. The ſacred bonds of friendſhip and relative connections were broken down. Deſertion from party became frequent. And ſuch were the ſuſpicions which prevailed, in conſequence, amongſt the remaining members in oppoſition, that, before the great event of the American war took place, the immediate friends of Lord Rockingham alone remained. When they were collected together, they amounted to ſeventy or eighty members: but their hopes were ſo ſlender from that Parliament in which the Boſton Poſt bill, the prelude to the war, paſſed, that they ſeldom appeared together. Upon that important queſtion, the oppoſition to it conſiſted only of the friends of that nobleman, who were men of buſineſs, and generally attended the Houſe. Colonel Barré, Mr. Dunning, and the friends of Lord L. either abſented themſelves

themſelves or voted for the bill. The whole number againſt it, as far as I can now recollect, was thirty-four.

The ſecret junto were now maſters of both miniſters and oppoſition. They had conſtantly a ſtrong body of members in the Houſe, compoſed of thoſe who had places in the houſehold, the ſecretaries or deputies of men in office, or of ſuch others who were their immediate dependents. Theſe were called King's friends. This body was under ſome known leader of the junto, who made uſe of frequent opportunities to ſhew the Houſe the abſolute dependence which the oſtenſible miniſters had upon them.

Conſtantly uſing the precaution of ſelecting for the members of Adminiſtration ſuch men as had few connections, the junto retained within themſelves the entire direction of the affairs of Government. They will always find miniſters to execute their meaſures of ſufficient rank

to give ſome grace to Adminiſtration, though not of connections ſufficient to render their power dangerous.

In the midſt of careſſes, the Court did not neglect its ſecurity. No ſooner was a proſelyte made, than he was required to make his recantation public by ſome ſtriking action; perhaps ſome parliamentary motion in direct oppoſition to his former principles. Two purpoſes were anſwered by this conduct. It ſecured the proſelyte, at leaſt as far as ſuch a man could be ſecured, by the entire loſs of reputation. And it not only deſtroyed the confidence which the people had placed in public characters, but greatly weakened the opinion which they held of the ſanctity of family connections. The principles of men in general were then known by theſe connections. Where, at preſent, can we find a ſtandard by which any judgement may be formed, except amongſt the family of *Cavendiſh*?

People

People in a monarchy are naturally envious of thoſe perſons who are inveſted with public employments: but this paſſion is not without a mixture of fear and reſpect. The poſſibility of their wanting the aſſiſtance of men in power produces the former paſſion. The poſſeſſion of the place procures reſpect to it, as their envy is attended with a ſtrong deſire to enjoy it themſelves. The Court have been long endeavouring to ſtrengthen this diſpoſition by inculcating the doctrine, that a candidate for places and power has intereſt alone in view; and that patriotiſm exiſts only in the imagination. They have ſupported theſe doctrines by ſuch ſtriking examples in men of the firſt rank, that it would have been a miracle had not the opinion prevailed.

I have not only wearied myſelf by the unpleaſant picture which I have drawn, but I ſhall too much tranſgreſs the bounds of a letter by a longer continuance of the

ſubject: I ſhall, therefore, defer it for the preſent. Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Oct. 23, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

ON THE STATE AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DIFFERENT PARTIES, THE PREVALENCE OF THE NEW SYSTEM, AND THE DISPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE TO SUBMIT TO IT.

A free people may be ſometimes betrayed; but no people will betray themſelves, and ſacrifice their liberty, unleſs they fall into a ſtate of univerſal corruption; and when they are fallen into ſuch a ſtate, they will be ſure to loſe what they deſerve no longer to enjoy.

Bolingbroke upon Parties.

LETTER IV.

TO ———————

FROM the annals of hiſtory too well may we become convinced that it is a harſh and ungrateful language in the ears of kings, educated in the lap of power, and accuſtomed to be approached with deference and adulation, to recommend a ſyſtem of government which derogates from their authority; more eſpecially, when this ſyſtem conſtitutes a Houſe of Commons, the repreſentatives of the people, to be the primary object, to whom his miniſters muſt in all caſes defer, and from whom alone they can derive the neceſſary ſupport to the adminiſtration of his government. Princes would grow naturally jealous of a popular aſſembly, were it proved to have preſcribed bounds which

their ſucceſſor could not venture to paſs. They find, under this ſyſtem, the royal power to be a mighty name in apparent poſſeſſion of high prerogative, but which is rendered uſeleſs by the impoſſibility of procuring a ſervant hardy enough to execute his orders.

But are we not to ſuppoſe that this has been the condition of the prerogative ſince the Revolution, and particularly during the reigns of the firſt Brunſwick kings, in whoſe hands every part of the royal prerogative, that formerly excited apprehenſion, was ſuffered by their miniſters quietly to reſt? Muſt we not conſider ſuch a conduct as tending equally to advance the happineſs and improvement of the country? And would not attempts to bring them generally into practice, or, to carry the ſuppoſition farther, a violent exertion of a principal branch of the prerogative, prove the melancholy reverſe?

The

The Whig party has been the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters of the old ſyſtem. They have alſo been equally ſtrenuous ſupporters of the preſent family upon the throne. The pretenſions of the exiled prince of the Stuart race, to whom the Tories were zealouſly attached, made it a point of neceſſity for the two firſt kings of this family to put the adminiſtration of government into the hands of the Whigs. The non-exerciſe of many parts of the prerogative, which had been aſſerted with a jealous right by the Stuart kings, ſometimes proved the ſtrength of their feelings; but having no means of redreſs, they had no remedy but ſubmiſſion, the hardeſt taſk that a prince can feel. They, however, had the ſatisfaction of beholding this trial of their feelings more than repaired by the increaſing proſperity of their people.

The Tories, on the contrary, being ſtrongly attached to kingly prerogative, have always acted upon oppoſite principles. They conſidered the conduct of the

Whig

Whig miniſters, in reſtraining the exerciſe of any branch of the prerogative, as an inſult offered to the regal dignity. They were apprehenſive that from the non-uſage of any particular part, the legality of exerciſing it might, in the courſe of time, be called in queſtion; and feared that a claim, founded upon preſcriptive right, would be in future oppoſed to every attempt of the Crown to revive it: thus rendering it a ſervice of great danger to the miniſter who ſhould be ſufficiently hardy to make the attempt.

Theſe objections of the Tories do not appear to have been made without ſome grounds; for when Lord L. revived the doctrine of the lawfulneſs of the King's negative in Parliament, the right was immediately queſtioned: yet who, in his ſenſes, can ſuppoſe that this was, probably, deſigned to be the prologue to a play, then in rehearſal? Who can preſume even ſlightly to infer that the firſt ſcene has been performed? Or that the

remaining

remaining part may follow at a future ſeaſon ?

Little, indeed, would the Tories of the preſent day have to fear, were it poſſible that a Britiſh throne could become beſieged by any ſecret junto inclined to prompt a king to exertions for the reſumption of the ancient prerogative of the Tudor and Stuart race.

Have we no reaſon to fear that the people of England experience a conſiderable decreaſe of that plain ſenſe and blunt honeſty by which they were formerly diſtinguiſhed ? The change of living within theſe laſt twenty years has produced an entire change of manners. Their natural jealouſy, ſuſceptible of the ſmalleſt national affront, has totally forſaken them. The ill ſucceſs which attended the violent meaſures of Government in the late war, and to which the whole body of the Tories, and a great number of infatuated Whigs, granted their ſupport, has had very

very melancholy effects upon their diſpoſition. They have fallen into habits of the moſt unbecoming meanneſs. There is hardly a man to be found who is not, by inclination or neceſſity, a dependent on Government, or who has not a hope to procure for himſelf, or his couſin's couſin to the tenth generation, a place or a contract. Dependence naturally produces ſervility of mind, and deadens a people to every ſenſe of proper feeling.

A prince may be himſelf deceived by a popular deluſion, raiſed by artful and deſigning men, for their own purpoſes. He may be led into evils which may prove, in the event, of a magnitude beyond the power of redreſs. His own intention may be merely to reſume thoſe prerogative rights which, according to the doctrines of his Tory ſubjects, he conceives to be the legal rights of the Crown. But could any prince, except our own, when he proceeds, and finds the people diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion, take upon him to anſwer for himſelf,

that

that he ſhall be able to reſiſt the temptation of aſſuming an abſolute dominion over ſubjects who thus court his power?

Happy, happy Great Britain! where it is not poſſible to find even the ſlighteſt reaſon for ſuppoſing that a ſimilar Revolution might be effected, in the preſent temper of the people, though not perhaps with the ſame eaſe, as that of Sweden, yet without any material reſiſtance. Injuſtice alone could dare to propagate an idea that the Swediſh Revolution was highly extolled at Court; or that it was not unuſual to hear men of conſideration ſay, "A mild "deſpotic government is much preferable "to the turbulence of party: our pro-"perty will be more ſecure."

Could (but the idea is abſurd) ſuch a diſpoſition of the people take place, it muſt prove of little conſequence to inquire of what party they were compoſed. Their general corruption would lead them equally to join in the ſame ſervile act of ſubmiſſion.

ſubmiſſion. Who can become ſo infatuated as to believe that the far greater part of the Engliſh are Tories, ſtrongly attached to arbitrary power? If, by the word republicaniſm, we mean a regard for the public ſafety, an attachment to the common weal, to the *res publica*, ſuch as it may, and even ſhould exiſt under a monarchy, I wiſh, for the honour of the nation, (and upon this ground only do I form the wiſh) that there were more republicans in England. It would then contain a ſtill-more virtuous people.

Some, inclined to theſe ſentiments, are amongſt the ſupporters of a parliamentary reform. I do honour to their hearts; for I believe their intentions to be upright and ſincere. But I cannot do honour, in this inſtance, to their underſtandings, nor to any men who have the weakneſs to ſuppoſe that, in the preſent age, they would, in general, find electors of purity and integrity. Were the greater part of the nation

tion Tories, whoſe opinions approach very near to arbitrary government, and were the greater part alſo of the Whigs to apoſtatize from their principles, I muſt confeſs that, in ſuch a caſe, far, very far indeed from probable, the future conſequences would dreadfully alarm the well-wiſhers of their country.

And yet I do not recollect a more ſtriking appearance of a change of diſpoſition in the people than in the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas-Corpus Act during the American war. Whilſt every perſon conceived himſelf to be in danger, a general apprehenſion prevailed: but when an amendment was moved to the bill, extending the ſuſpenſion only to thoſe who had been out of the kingdom, this general apprehenſion ſubſided; and the man who found himſelf to be in no danger from it, turned a deaf ear to the difficulties in which his neighbours might be involved.

The

The then Adminiſtration, indeed, came readily into the amendment: and yet who ſhall ſay that it exactly coincided with the maxims of any ſyſtem, framed to indulge ſubjects in all manner of licentiouſneſs? Yet ſuch is perſonal liberty when abuſed; for, by theſe means, their morals would be the ſooner corrupted; conſequently rendered ſubſervient to the purpoſes of any future government, not loſing ſight of the grand and baneful objects with which the exceptionable reigns of former times have generally commenced — the diminution of the liberty of the ſubject, and the increaſe of the power and influence of the Crown.

Men of arbitrary principles are very ſevere in their diſpoſitions: and ſuch would introduce a new ſyſtem with violence and malignity; yet they would find the Engliſh to be a people who may be led, but cannot eaſily be driven. A junto muſt meet with ſuch difficulties in their vehement progreſs, that they would think it moſt

moſt prudent to change their mode of attack, and to proceed by ſap rather than by ſtorm. They would attempt to debauch their manners. Yet why theſe odious ſuppoſitions? Surely we have never ſeen the ſucceſs attending their levelling all diſtinction of character amongſt men; nor that, as one part of their new doctrine was to annihilate private character, they inculcated the principle, that public virtue might exiſt independently of private. Could ſuch abſurdities become greedily ſwallowed by the people? By ſuch means, indeed, might the manners of the people become looſened, and, by degrees, totally changed.

In my next I ſhall make ſome reflections, in continuation of this ſubject, upon thoſe Whigs who have deſerted their principles: till then I bid you farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Oct. 25, 1784

LETTER V.

UPON THE

COALITION,

THE

MOTIVES OF THE WHIG LEADERS

IN FORMING IT,

AND THE

EVENT WHICH FOLLOWED.

Quid verius quam in judicium venire, quæ ob re judicandam pecuniam acceperit? Censuit hoc Cato. — Quid impudenter publicanis renuntiantibus? Fuit tamen retinendi ordinis causa, facienda jactura.

CIC. *ad* ATT.

LETTER V.

TO ———————

THE general conduct of the two parties in England, the Whigs and the Tories, clearly diſtinguiſh the difference of their principles. The latter, eager and violent in the proſecution of their objects, conſtantly preſerve themſelves in a cloſe and compact body, ready for action. The Whigs, mild in diſpoſition, and wary in their purſuits, are looſe and unconnected, and require a long time to be ſet in motion. The principles of the Tories, leading them to the ſupport of a very high prerogative, approaching in many points nearly to abſolute power, render them ſubmiſſive to authority, always prepared to obey their leaders, and ſeldom queſtioning the lawfulneſs of their commands.

The Whigs, who are attached to a monarchy, ſecured by limits, which they conceive it more neceſſary to contract than to extend, are tenacious of their privileges, and muſt be convinced of the rectitude of a meaſure before they can be brought to ſupport it. When the parties come into action, they ſhew the ſame difference of conduct as appears between bold confidence and reflective courage. The one, haſty and impetuous; the other, cautious and temperate. The conſequences of victory have been equally ſhewn both in the forbearance and moderation of the Whigs, and in the inſolent and vindictive triumphs of the Tories.

I have been thus particular in theſe diſtinctions of character, as a late great event in England, the diſſolution of Parliament, has ſtrongly marked them.

The Tories maintain the meaſure upon principle. The chief men amongſt them, who were formerly zealouſly attached to the

the Stuart race, conceive that the preſent King is entitled to their ſupport; yet the two firſt kings of his family, who governed upon Whig principles, met with oppoſition from their party.

Whigs, in general, have not the good ſenſe to make this diſtinction. Many of them, from long habits of attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick, direct their views to the family of the prince, and not to the principles upon which his miniſters (for he can do no wrong) may govern. But the conduct of the far greater part of them, eſpecially the Diſſenters, ariſes from their diſguſt to the principal Whig families who formed the coalition with Lord North. By thus ſacrificing their principles to their reſentment, they involve themſelves in the ſame ruin which they have brought upon their leaders. Whether they were juſtified or not for the part which they have taken is not now (though it ſhall be hereafter) a matter of conſideration. The fact is, that the Whigs

have joined an adminiſtration in ſupport of the extenſion of the prerogative beyond a certain boundary, and have cenſured the repreſentatives of the people for attempting to reſtrain it.

This groſs miſconduct of the Whigs has contributed much more to the deſtruction of their party than the artifices which have been practiſed, and the attacks which have been made upon them, by their avowed enemies, during a ſeries of much more than twenty years. They have ſuffered by deluſion — they have laboured under oppreſſion; yet when they have been rouſed to the exertion of their ſtrength, they have proved formidable opponents. But now their whole conſequence is departed; and Tory miniſters, having gained their point in dividing them, no longer apprehend even the ſemblance of oppoſition.

It has been generally obſerved, that ſtriking expreſſions, induſtriouſly ſpread amongſt

amongſt the people, have produced the moſt inſtantaneous and ſudden effects. The words "number forty-five" made the fortune of John Wilkes. The words "Coalition, and taking away of chartered "rights," ruined the Whig leaders. The taking away theſe very chartered rights at ſeveral periods ſince the year 1773, produced neither complaint nor murmur: yet by the good management of thoſe who *preſumed* to call themſelves the King's friends, in diligently diſtributing an immenſe number of pamphlets and newſpapers through every even the moſt remote parts of the kingdom, the India Bill of Mr. Fox was rendered one of the moſt unpopular meaſures that has been known in England ſince the famous Jew Bill. This was the trumpet which ſounded the deſtruction of the Portland Adminiſtration. It is the ſound, not the meaning of words, which prevail amidſt popular clamours.

I ſhall not take up much of your time in comments upon this memorable bill.

The

The ſubject is almoſt worn out. I ſhall barely mention the leading features of the two bills of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt. The firſt of them veſted the principal appointments in Parliament, diveſting the Crown of any immediate control over them. This diſpoſition, agreeable to the ſpirit of a Whig government, and for which there were many precedents,-was yet ſeverely condemned by the body of the Whigs. The bill of Mr. Pitt veſted theſe appointments in, and under the control of, the Crown. This was agreeable to the ſpirit of his adminiſtration, which is carried on upon Tory principles. But the Tories had not the folly of the Whigs. Steady to their principles, they ſupported and applauded the meaſure.

The other parts of the two bills, which relate to the direction of the affairs of the Company, differ very little in eſſential matters. They equally take away the monopolizing chartered rights, which was charged to the late Adminiſtration as an

enormous

enormous crime. The Company ought to have been diſſolved long ago. It is worthy of our attention, that every European aſſociation for the Eaſt-India trade has become inſolvent. The Dutch Eaſt-India Company, hitherto the moſt flouriſhing in Europe, is in a miſerable condition. The affairs of all the companies have been firſt diſordered by an unprofitable trade. The depravity of their ſervants has completed their ruin. It would have been for the intereſts of this country as well as thoſe of humanity, that this trade had been long ago ſuppreſſed. The nation had been ſooner freed from a heavy burden, and the wretched inhabitants of India delivered from the deſtructive pangs of mercileſs plunderers. The Mahomedan conquerors robbed theſe poor people only of the fleece. The Chriſtian traders deprive them both of fleece and ſkins.

But what muſt be the principles of thoſe Whigs, who, having deſtroyed the power of the firſt Whig families in the country,

regarded,

regarded, without oppoſition or complaint, a ſtroke levelled at the root of the deareſt privileges of Engliſhmen, depriving them of the right of trial by jury? In the laſt India Bill has been ſubſtituted another juriſdiction, a Court of Star Chamber, (ſo far as it extends) in the place of the common courts of juſtice. It is no excuſe to ſay that the peculiar ſituation of the criminals made a new ſpecies of juriſdiction neceſſary. We have already courts of juſtice independent of the Crown. If theſe will not perform their duty, can the execution of it be expected from that Eaſt-India court of judicature in which the Crown muſt neceſſarily have an influence? Juries are ſeldom deficient in their duty. The jury found the culprits of the Madras government guilty: but what was the ſentence paſſed by the Court?—I ſhall apply this ſubject to another part of this work.

I ſhall ſay a few words upon the famous coalition, though it muſt be with caution; for

for there appears ſo many ſolid arguments on both ſides of the queſtion, and the abilities and the integrity of the principal Whig leaders who coaleſced with Lord North are ſo fully eſtabliſhed, that, although I am one of thoſe who very ſincerely wiſh that the coalition had never taken place, I ſhould think myſelf highly culpable in forming any opinion of cenſure. I look upon either the Duke of Portland, the Cavendiſhes, or Lord Fitzwilliam, in this caſe, as I would upon Cato, when he was found early in the morning in the ſtreets of Rome. If they were in an error, it was an error of virtue.

I muſt firſt premiſe, that I have not the ſmalleſt deſign of exculpating Lord North from any part of his adminiſtration. God forbid that I ſhould be the defender of a man, who, if not the principal, was one of the inſtruments made uſe of in carrying on the moſt abandoned meaſures of the new ſyſtem, eſpecially in conducting the reproachful part of that ſyſtem, the

fatal

fatal war waged againſt our American fellow ſubjects.

But whilſt I thus ſeverely tax this nobleman with crimes of an enormous magnitude, I ought to do him the juſtice to ſay, that, having refuſed, unmoved even by prayers or reproaches, requeſts from a moſt powerful quarter, either to accept the Treaſury or to form an adminiſtration himſelf, he threw himſelf wholly upon the mercy of the Whigs, ſubmitting himſelf to be diſpoſed of at their pleaſure. He offered either to remain in, or to retire wholly from, any adminiſtration which might be formed.

This is, indeed, a ſmall recompence for the miſchiefs which he has cauſed; but as there can be no reaſon to doubt his ſincerity in this inſtance, he deſerves ſome credit, at leaſt from the Whigs, for his conduct.

I am

I am ſenſible that it is no argument in favour of the late coalition to aſſert, that the preſent Adminiſtration is equally liable to the ſame objections: but it is but fair to ſtate both ſides of a queſtion. It is a fact that, in every meaſure, of which Lord North was nominally the head, three very diſtinguiſhed members, now acting under the preſent miniſtry, had, at leaſt, an equal participation; perhaps, from their greater activity, a larger ſhare. Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Robinſon, and Mr. Atkinſon, ſo much the objects of popular cenſure, and nearly the whole of the former ſupporters of Lord North's adminiſtration, are now ſtrenuous in ſupport of the preſent miniſter, Mr. Pitt. In reſpect to the coalition, therefore, the Whigs, who, upon the principle of condemning their leaders for the coalition with Lord North, ſupport the coalition of Mr. Pitt with ſuch men, are acting a very criminal part.

I have ſaid that I am one of thoſe who moſt heartily wiſh that the coalition with

Lord

Lord North had never taken place. No good has ariſen from it; and eventually much miſchief. It was not a deſirable union. Men of the higheſt honour and integrity were linked with characters whoſe conduct they had frequently and juſtly condemned. It was well enough ſaid*, *Amicitias immortales inimicitias mortales eſſe debere.* I ſhall make this addition to the hiſtorian — If it is the duty of a Chriſtian to forgive, it is not a part of his duty to take to his boſom the men whoſe actions he had ſo juſtly condemned.

The ſituation of the principal Whig families, the remaining party of Lord Rockingham, at the time when they ſubmitted to enter into this coalition, ought to be taken into conſideration. Their families, which had been long at the head of the Whigs, were now become little more than the ſhadow of that formidable phalanx which had driven out not only the often-

* Our enmities ought to be mortal, our friendſhips eternal.

ſible

ſible adminiſtration of Lord North, but the ſecret junto, whoſe power had been too banefully predominant. They had this alternative — to retire wholly from public life, and give up the conteſt for ever, or to make uſe of the party influence of a man whoſe principles they diſliked, and whoſe meaſures they had conſtantly oppoſed. They made choice of the latter.

It was a tempting offer. They had the experience of paſt ages to ſupport the opinion, that a majority of the Houſe of Commons conſtituted the ſtrength of adminiſtration: and they were ſenſible that by making uſe of the parliamentary influence of Lord North and his friends, they ſhould have an opportunity, the only one perhaps that would preſent itſelf, of eſtabliſhing a government upon Whig principles.

In the forming of that adminiſtration, the Whig leaders cannot be charged with

having acted from intereſted or pecuniary views. In the diſpoſal of places, the far greater part of them were given to thoſe with whom they had coaleſced. The hackneyed reports of the emoluments which the miniſter ſecured to his family was a ſhameful abuſe of the public. A poor ſolitary place, of about 500l. per annum, given to the miniſter's brother, conſtitutes the mighty fruits which his family enjoy from his adminiſtration; and even this very place was preſſed upon him in a moſt honourable manner from a moſt exalted quarter, after the miniſter had made a different diſpoſition of it.

How far it is, in a ſtrict ſenſe, lawful for a virtuous man to join with thoſe of whoſe principles he has a bad opinion, in endeavours to bring about purpoſes of good, is a queſtion, which, in the preſent corrupt ſtate of Great Britain, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. In ſuch an inſtance, however, I need not heſitate to ſay, that a conduct, founded upon good motives,

motives, merits commendation much more than it admits reproof.

I am ſure I need not ſcruple confidently to aſſert, that the good of their fellow ſubjects was alone the motive which induced either Lord Rockingham or the Duke of Portland to accept the adminiſtration. It was a ſacrifice to patriotiſm, which coſt the much-lamented Marquis his life; and it was owing to a ſerenity of temper, which marks one of the moſt ſpotleſs characters of this or any age, that the Duke of Portland was preſerved from the ill conſequences of inceſſant vexation and fatigue.

I am myſelf one of thoſe old-faſhioned Whigs who pay a reſpect to character and connection. So long as I ſaw a Cavendiſh, a Bentinck, or a Fitzwilliam, remnants of the party of the honoured name of Rockingham, acting upon the hereditary principles of their anceſtors, I ſhould think it my duty to ſupport them; and I

alſo think that ſober men would do the ſame.

There was one neglected meaſure during their adminiſtration, the ſettlement of the American commerce, which has made ſome of the Whigs ſuſpect that the influence of Lord North and his friends was by far too powerful in the Cabinet. The proclamation, ſhutting out the Americans from the Weſt-India ports, has been given in proof of this aſſertion. This affair wants elucidation. I ſhall attempt it in a letter dedicated merely to the explanations of ſome motions in the machine of government, which are not generally known to the public. It will appear as a paradox to ſay that the Whig leaders might have ſettled the American treaty ſatisfactorily to their own principles, although they themſelves conceived that they had not the power to do it: but this was the caſe, and ſhall be hereafter explained.

Such

Such is the ſtate of our Government, with little hope of its either receiving the juſt and proper tone of a Whig adminiſtration, or of being ever eſtabliſhed upon a ſettled or permanent foundation; at leaſt, without ſome great convulſion, the conſequence of which muſt be both expected and dreaded. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Oct. 26, 1784.

LETTER VI.

EXPLANATION

OF THE

APPARENT CONTRADICTION

IN THE

ACTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL WHIG LEADERS

WITH RESPECT TO AMERICA,

AT TWO DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME.

LETTER VI.

TO ———————

THE ſubject upon which I am about to enter is very difficult to explain. Thoſe who live within the circle of the Court are alone competent to the comprehenſion of the motives which govern the actions of miniſters. The intrigues of the cloſet in a free country, where the miniſters frequently act independently of the Crown, are a labyrinth difficult to be explored. We are, therefore, not to be ſurpriſed at the imperfect and fallacious accounts which are continually tranſmitted to the world by pretenders to this kind of knowledge; or at either the credulity or incredulity (for they have each their effects upon men of different diſpoſitions) which narratives of the intrigues of a Court produce. The

manners

manners of a Court being chiefly confined to its circle, the perſons within it live very much amongſt themſelves. A knowledge, therefore, of what paſſes in the Court generally centers within its own bounds.

In treating upon this ſubject, great delicacy is required. Much miſchief may accrue from injudicious information. It would prove of no utility to the public, and might involve private perſons in many difficulties. No other purpoſe could be anſwered by it than that of gratifying an idle curioſity. There is equally a general law of propriety, as there is a general law of nations, which muſt influence every man of juſtneſs of thinking, even though the narrator has entirely quitted the ſcene of action.

A great part of the reſpect which is paid to ſtateſmen is owing to the denſity of the veil which covers their actions. The people are loſt in the obſcurity in which theſe affairs

affairs are involved, and adore the inviſibility of thoſe, who, like an eaſtern monarch, perform them behind the curtain of ſtate. Should this veil be withdrawn, they would behold activity and indolence, ſenſe and weakneſs, diligence and diſſipation, mingled together in the character of a ſtateſman, much in the ſame manner as amongſt themſelves.

What I chiefly promiſed was to explain the apparent contradiction in the actions of the principal Whig leaders, with reſpect to America, at the two following periods of time: — The firſt of theſe periods was when Lord Rockingham came into office in April, 1782. That excellent nobleman refuſed to accept the adminiſtration until the conditions which he ſtipulated to be performed were previouſly agreed to by the Court. One of thoſe ſtipulations was, that an immediate end ſhould be put to the American war, and the independence of the United States unconditionally granted. The laſt of theſe

periods

periods was when the Duke of Portland came into adminiſtration in conjunction with Lord North, Lord Stormont, and Lord Carliſle; men who had hitherto acted upon oppoſite principles to him.

The Whig party amongſt the people aſcribed to the influence of theſe three noblemen in the Cabinet the apparent neglect of every meaſure that had a tendency to conciliate the affections of America; and that it was wholly owing to this circumſtance that neither miniſter nor conſul were appointed to the United States.

To the ſame cauſe they alſo aſcribed the eſtabliſhment of that adverſe regulation, preventing the Americans from entering into the Weſt-India ports. In ſhort, they attributed to their influence an apparent want of inclination to enter into any connections whatſoever with the United States.

Theſe

Theſe apprehenſions, however, (ſo far as I have been able to learn) were founded only in part, and related merely to the prohibitory parts of the former commercial intercouſe between Great Britain, her remaining colonies, and the United States. The advice of perſons, highly prejudiced againſt thoſe ſtates, and who took a very ſtrong part in the war, had certainly the preference. The advice of one perſon in particular, who has long occupied a ſecond department in the State, and who was active in the promotion of the American war, bore a great ſway with a miniſter of the firſt abilities. The aſſiduity of that perſon is great, and he is generally ſuppoſed to be a tolerable maſter of commercial ſubjects.

Theſe qualities, it muſt be ſuppoſed, recommended him to this miniſter. It would have been a fortunate circumſtance had his occupations ſuffered him, and ſurely this was one of the moſt important affairs of ſtate, to have taken the trouble

of

of thinking, upon this occaſion, for himſelf. Had he admitted the ſubject into his own conſideration, he would have perceived, that if theſe meaſures (as they were probably deſigned) wounded America, they wounded much more deeply his own country. Though he might not be ſo converſant in commercial affairs himſelf, his amazingly quick and comprehenſive conception would have ſoon ſupplied every deficiency.

But, to take up this meaſure upon another ground, if he conſidered the proclamation (as it was ſtated by another high authority, whoſe veracity is not to be called in queſtion) to be merely temporary till the treaty was regulated, why was it continued after every idea of a commercial treaty was given up? There is a ſubtilty in ſome of our modern politicians which often holds out ſome ſpecious regulation (whether commercial or otherwiſe) for the ſake of gaining popularity; but ſuch deluſions coſt a nation very dear, when,

when, as in this caſe, they are purchaſed with great and deciſive advantages. I muſt not, however, impute ſuch deluſory ſchemes to this miniſter. He has more manlineſs of temper, and is much more diſpoſed to ſet popularity at defiance. His conduct, therefore, could not have ariſen from this cauſe.

That the advice to which I have referred ſhould be taken by this miniſter, in preference, has produced much ſpeculation. There was another man, equally (I ſhall not be thought to do injuſtice to the perſon whom I have alluded to, if I ſay more) able and intelligent, to whom the application would have been made with much greater propriety. The extent of his knowledge, the conſiſtency of his conduct, and the integrity of his principles, pointed him out as leſs likely to act from paſſion or prejudice. This character ſurvives, and I hope will long ſurvive, for the benefit of that country which has the honour to call him her ſubject. His own

country

country has proved ungrateful to deſerving merit. She is not worthy of him. It remains to conjecture why ſuch an application was not made.

The following obſervation, founded on experience, may poſſibly aſſiſt our conjectures: — that the greater the abilities of any man, if he has not birth or fortune to ſupport them, the greater is the jealouſy which they excite, and the ſtronger are the attempts to depreſs them.

Should even his tenacious integrity, extending to the moſt rigorous ſenſe of juſtice and propriety, be proof againſt every means of advancing his fortune, it will not procure him the thanks, much leſs the praiſe, of this degenerate age. Birth or fortune will alone enable ſuch a man to ſilence jealouſy, and to command attention.

This is a digreſſion, which, indeed, this letter will in a great meaſure be. I ſhall, however, now come to the principal point — a diſ-

—a diſcuſſion of the queſtion, whether the late Adminiſtration was more inclined to enter into a friendly connection with the United States, or to deal hoſtilely with them? I am convinced myſelf of the diſpoſition of the principal Whig leaders in the adminiſtration to have entered into a mutually beneficial treaty with America; and I conſider the following circumſtance to be the cauſe of this diſpoſition not being carried into execution: — When the miniſters tried the ground in one of the higheſt quarters, where they were indiſpenſably obliged to mention the meaſures which they deſigned to purſue, they met with ſo cold a reception, that they judged it moſt conducive to the ſafety of their adminiſtration to defer their intended purpoſes.

It is very probable that ſome of their colleagues might be forward in magnifying the danger of preſſing a meaſure, which they repreſented as a very delicate point to diſcuſs in the preſence of a higher power.

They might alſo be privately gratified with the effects which had been produced, as they proved a bar to any conciliatory meaſures being entered into with America. This, however, is only a conjecture formed upon their general conduct; for I have been informed, from the beſt authority, that they never made any oppoſition, or gave the leaſt obſtruction to the propoſal of the meaſure.

I am well aſſured that I am very correct in theſe circumſtances. I know that I am equally ſo in the aſſertion, that the Whig leaders were miſtaken in the judgement which they formed upon this occaſion. Their cool reception aroſe leſs from diſinclination to enter into a treaty with America, than from a general diſlike of their adminiſtration.

They certainly tried a much more delicate point in the bill for the regulation of the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company. An examination into theſe affairs by independent

pendent parliamentary commiſſioners, was very ill calculated, for many weighty private reaſons, to meet approbation in the cloſet. This was a *ſanctum ſanctorum*, which the Court would have riſqued its exiſtence rather than ſuffer any other commiſſioners than of its own appointment to have entered.

They did not diſtinguiſh with their uſual ability between the difference of the reception which they met with on theſe two meaſures. They were not ſaluted by a cold reception when they made the application upon this ſubject; nor had they reaſon to ſuppoſe, from appearances, that their bill gave the leaſt diſguſt; yet the conſequence of that bill was a clap of thunder, which burſt upon them in an inſtant, and cruſhed them to atoms.

The Whigs had been long habituated to labour in the ſchool of oppoſition: for more than twenty years they had only two ſmall intervals. The firſt adminiſtra-

tion of Lord Rockingham laſted twelve months: it ſupported itſelf through one ſeſſion of Parliament againſt the whole force of the Court, all the houſehold ſervants voting againſt that miniſter. What was attempted in vain by force, was very ſoon after effected by intrigue. The ſecond adminiſtration of that nobleman ended, with his life, in three months: but intrigues to deſtroy this adminiſtration were carried on even during that ſhort period, chiefly by one of that Cabinet. Both theſe adminiſtrations, equally with their own, were formed contrary to ſome *particular* inclination, and they met with the ſame fate.

The period of the laſt adminiſtration was very near drawing to a cloſe within three months after their appointment, when the ſettlement of the Prince of Wales's houſehold was in agitation. The manner in which that affair had been conducted, at leaſt as far as a compariſon can be formed between the Court and Parliament,

me n treſembled, in many of its parts, the India Bill, and, had the intrigues of the Court been ripe, would have produced the ſame conſequences. The train was laid, and Mr. Pitt was at hand: but, in the moment of execution, the Court, on ſecond conſideration, did not think proper to ſet fire to it. Perhaps they imagined the ground of diſmiſſion not to be ſufficiently ſtrong to expect the ſupport neceſſary to an adminiſtration of their own. Had they been prepared, the ſubmiſſion of the miniſters would not have ſaved them. This commotion, therefore, as it began with threats, ended with careſſes.

They underſtood theſe careſſes too well to be wholly deceived by them; yet they were not without ſome effect; by ſetting them off their guard, other motives influenced their conduct. They had been recommended to avoid all manner of difference in a certain quarter, as the only means of preſerving their adminiſtration. Some of their coadjutors had been educated

in theſe principles, and were eager to promote them. The Whig leaders followed this fatal advice, and, in a moment, cancelled the ſalutary effects of an experience which had been the work of their lives.

I am ſatisfied that the motives of the Whig families were good, and that the bad effects which this conduct, in ſome very principal perſons amongſt them, produced, were owing to the exerciſe of an amiable human weakneſs. There are few men, I ſpeak from many years attentive obſervation, who have a more clear and enlightened judgement — there is no man who has a greater chaſtity of manners, or a more unſhaken integrity, than the late firſt miniſter; yet theſe great qualities were rendered of leſs effect to the public by a diffidence of his own abilities. This amiable weakneſs made him, on this occaſion, acquieſce in opinions that were calculated for an artificial, not for his manly character. Had this excellent perſon fortunately purſued his own mature judgement,

judgement, an immediate and laſting connection would have been formed with the United States of America. He would have found no oppoſition, had he perſiſted in his intentions. The mind of one in power to dictate was fully made up to the meaſure.

It is the eſpecial duty of miniſters, acting upon Whig principles, in this limited monarchy, and who are reſponſible, not ſo much to the ſovereign as to the people, *reſpectfully* to addreſs a king with truth, ſimplicity, and firmneſs. Had the late miniſters performed this duty, they would have acquired ſtrength in that quarter which they were accuſtomed to approach with apprehenſion.

Beſides, they riſqued nothing by a reſolute and manly conduct. They knew what compulſively occaſioned the ſurrender of the adminiſtration into their hands. They had improvidently left the whole body of houſehold troops ſecure in office;

yet theſe, they were aſſured, would act in oppoſition, the moment they received their orders from a junto. It was only an additional inſtance to their former experience, that when the ſignal was thrown out for battle, they inſtantly obeyed, and gave the miniſters a deciſive defeat. No ſooner were ſome particular intentions, with reſpect to the India Bill, diſcovered by Lords of the Bedchamber, and other Lords of the Houſehold, who had left their proxies with the miniſters to vote for the bill, than they inſtantly withdrew them, and voted againſt it. They had, therefore, no medium of conciliation to truſt to. It was of courſe immaterial whether any meaſures of their propoſal met with a cool or a courteous reception. The former, perhaps, was the moſt agreeable, as it would have been the moſt ſincere. Neither opportunity nor inclination was wanting to decide their fate.

Such is the aſcendency of virtue, that the principal men of the Whig party met with

with reſpect even from the throne; yet not as miniſters, but as ſubjects. It is plain that, by this mode of reaſoning, I do not ſpeak of the perfections, but of the infirmities of mankind. The paſſions of perſons of the *moſt-exalted* rank are, at the beſt, like thoſe of other men; generally ſpeaking, they are much worſe. — I ſhall defer the concluſion of this ſubject to my next letter. I muſt now bid you farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
October 27, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Stat ſua cuique dies; breve et irreparabile tempus
Omnibus eſt vitæ; ſed famam extendere factis,
Hoc virtutis opus.

VIRG.

LETTER VII.

TO ———————

IN all affairs which have borne any relation to America, whether before or ſince the independence of that country, a fatality ſeems to have prevailed in our councils. The former meaſures of Government, carried on upon ſyſtem amidſt the higheſt departments, and ſupported by the far greater part of the people, were purſued with ſuch obduracy and perverſeneſs, as to preclude all conſideration of the ruin into which they were themſelves actually plunging. When ſome of the people recovered from their deluſion ſufficiently to enable the better part of the Whigs to exert their whole ſtrength, an end was put to this wretched ſyſtem of government, and the acceptance of a Whig adminiſtra-

tion

tion became almoſt a matter of compulſion: yet this was no ſooner obtained, than new difficulties aroſe to prevent the ſucceſs of their meaſures.

Many circumſtances in the ſtate of our national affairs concurred to favour Lord Rockingham at his entrance into the adminiſtration. He was at the head of a great and powerful party, attached to him by the moſt honourable motives, an affectionate reſpect for his perſon, and a confident ſecurity in his principles. His parts were ſtrong and uſeful; his judgement ſolid and mature; his temper calm and unruffled. All his meaſures were taken with extreme caution; but when he had decided, his reſolution was fixed and unſhaken. The conſtant ſerenity of his mind protected him againſt the effects of fortune. Proſperity never begetting in him unreaſonable deſires; adverſity always giving ſtrength to his natural firmneſs.

He

He was educated in the Court of King George the Second, and imbibed an early attachment to the principles of his government, which he practiſed with a zeal that bordered upon enthuſiaſm. This appeared, though without the leaſt bigotry, in the moſt trifling incidents. His natural diſpoſition would have led him to prefer private to public life. After his firſt adminiſtration, in which he conducted himſelf with vigour and ability, he was very averſe to take upon him the government. He expreſſed a deſire to have his part in the adminiſtration confined to a ſeat in the Cabinet; but ſuch was the ſituation of our affairs, and ſuch the implicit and unbounded confidence which the public placed in his integrity, (in this opinion there was no diſtinction of party) that it was become a matter of neceſſity for him to aſſume the adminiſtration.

I am not one of thoſe who are fond of expatiating on the independence of public upon private virtue. I ſhall, therefore, mention,

mention, though it is not neceſſary to my ſubject, the private virtues of this great character; in which the excellencies of each were ſtrikingly conſpicuous. I think myſelf fully juſtified in this digreſſion, ſince I preſent an illuſtrious example worthy of all imitation.

Of the firſt nobility, and inheriting an immenſe paternal eſtate, he ſo happily blended affability of temper with dignity of manners, and magnificence of ſpirit with generous hoſpitality, that he became equally the object of affection and reverence. Few poſſeſſed a more happy talent of reconciling differences amongſt men, or of putting an end to the diſſentions of parties. His patience and forbearance removing the grounds of diſpute; the affectionate mildneſs of his diſpoſition inclining even inveterate enemies to reconciliation.

He poſſeſſed an unaffected piety, without any mixture of ſourneſs or oſtentation;

was regular in his devotions, both at church and in his own chapel, where ſervice was regularly performed. He was always greatly attached to domeſtic life; and, in a long and happy connection with his excellent Lady, afforded, in his high ſtation, a very ſtriking and eminent example. His doors were conſtantly open: his mornings and evenings regularly ſpent in the reception of his friends: his ample table was filled with gueſts; and, in his abſence from the country, a table was regularly kept for the accommodation of any gentleman whom pleaſure or buſineſs led to his houſe.

He was fond of agriculture, and ſpent a very great part of his large income in improvements. His principal reſidence in the country was equally diſtinguiſhed for its elegance and grandeur, its uſefulneſs and hoſpitality: it was laid out upon a great and extenſive plan, and contained within its bounds an immenſe pile of building. He cultivated a great part of

his eſtate himſelf; was perfectly well acquainted with its various diſtribution, and conſumed the produce within the houſe. He had artificers of all kinds, who received their daily food within the walls, and for whom he erected ſhops and houſes to live in, all within the circle of the offices. The lively appearance of the country about him, in which were to be ſeen variety of works carrying on, mines ſinking for coal, canals digging for its conveyance, experiments in huſbandry and gardening, and elegant buildings ariſing to beautify the eſtate, all in one view, ſerved to diſplay the taſte and ſplendour, the wiſdom and beneficence of the ſenſible and magnificent owner. Happily for his country, the heir to his eſtate is alſo an heir to his virtues.

I leave a ſubject which always calls for the deepeſt and moſt ſincere regret. The unequivocal proofs of friendſhip and regard which I received from this excellent perſon will for ever engage me to pay to his

his revered memory the grateful tribute of affectionate remembrance.—I now return to a more unpleaſant work.

No ſooner had the Whigs completed the deſtruction of the adminiſtration of Lord North, and of the wretched ſyſtem upon which he was employed, than, all farther reſiſtance appearing vain, the Chancellor was ſent to Lord Rockingham, deſiring him to form an adminiſtration. That nobleman expreſſed his wiſhes that the meaſures of government, upon which the future adminiſtration was to be carried on, ſhould be previouſly ſettled. This, on the part of the Chancellor, was ſtrongly combated: but Lord Rockingham, having a very full experience of the general conduct of the Court party, and being ſenſible that they meant to avoid all thoſe meaſures which the Whigs had been ſtrenuous in ſupporting, firmly refuſed to take any ſtep till the whole was arranged.

For ſome days, to the great ſurpriſe of every one, neither meſſage nor anſwer was ſent. At length, Lord S. waited upon Lord Rockingham, and made him acquainted that he had received inſtructions to co-operate with him in ſettling an adminiſtration. The Court, not being able to ſhake the reſolution of Lord Rockingham, had ſent for Lord S. knowing his diſpoſition to be favourable to their purpoſes.

It is the etiquette of the Court, whenever a perſon is deſired to form an adminiſtration, to conſider him at the head of it: at leaſt, this was the cuſtom in better times, and was yet practiſed, when a neceſſity aroſe for forming a Whig adminiſtration. Lord S. was, therefore, properly ſpeaking, the Court miniſter.

At this meeting Lord S. urged Lord Rockingham to enter upon the buſineſs of forming the adminiſtration, leaving the meaſures to be purſued for farther diſcuſ-

ſion;

ſion; but the noble Marquis not only refuſed him this requeſt, but even to enter into any kind of negociation whatever through his medium.

Lord Rockingham was for a long time clear and decided in this reſolution, and declared openly his marked diſapprobation. The negociation hung in ſuſpence till, at length, the principal Whigs, thinking that the riſque of its being broken off was greater than the truſting it to Lord S., were earneſt in entreating him to recede from his opinion. Their requeſt was not, however, immediately complied with. He repeatedly warned them againſt the ill conſequence of ſubmitting. At length, wearied out with their importunities, and, contrary to his better judgement, he conſented, at their intreaty, to meet Lord S.

But although he gave up to his friends the reſolution which he had made not to enter into a negociation through the medium of Lord S., he inflexibly adhered to

that which demanded a previous ſettlement of all the public meaſures to be carried on by the adminiſtration which he was deſired to form. He made Lord S. acquainted with theſe propoſed meaſures when they met. The latter readily gave up the naming of the adminiſtration; but appeared deſirous of evading any diſcuſſion concerning meaſures: the meeting, therefore, was without effect.

At length, the Houſe of Commons becoming uneaſy at having no Adminiſtration, a full meeting of the Whig members of both Houſes were convened at Lord Rockingham's. This meeting, having approved his conduct, and given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their ſupport, prepared a motion for the next day in the Houſe of Commons, which they directed to be communicated to Lord S.

This decided meaſure produced an immediate effect. When the Houſe met, it was informed that a meſſage had been ſent

to

to Lord Rockingham to acquaint him that his propoſals were fully agreed to. The Adminiſtration was then formed; in the arrangement of which he conſulted the mildneſs and benignity of his diſpoſition, including, in the Cabinet, all the principal members of oppoſition, without exception*; perhaps with too much eaſe; certainly in the proviſion which was demanded for the two friends of Lord S.; Mr. Dunning and Colonel Barré. But Lord S. having the actual power at Court, and a much more important meaſure being given up to him, (even the Chancellor being ſuffered to remain) it was not thought prudent to refuſe this demand.

* Lord Rockingham,
Lord Keppel,
Lord John Cavendiſh,
Duke of Richmond,
Mr. Fox,
} Friends of Lord Rockingham.
Lord S.
Mr. Dunning, friend to Lord S.
Lord Camden, generally acts with Lord S.
Duke of Grafton,
General Conway,
} of no particular party.
Lord Thurlow, of Lord North's adminiſtration.

When the whole arrangement was made, the King ſaw Lord Rockingham.

The putting an immediate end to the American war, and an unconditional acknowledgement of the independence of the United States of America, was, as I have already mentioned, one of the meaſures which Lord Rockingham inſiſted upon, and which were agreed to by the Court. The others do not regard this ſubject.

The prediction of the noble Marquis was verified almoſt the inſtant Lord S. took his ſeat in the Cabinet. His conſtitution was delicate, incapable of ſupporting him in a conteſt full of vexation. A violent illneſs enſued, from which he recovered in ſome meaſure; but this was but a gleam of ſhort continuance.

Lord S. purſued his inſtructions with ſpirit and diligence. He knew that the American queſtions afforded the moſt probable

bable ground for perplexing the councils of the new miniſters; ſome of whom were very lukewarm in their ſentiments. The C., who had been ſuffered to remain in place, was certainly not the warmeſt of the advocates in favour of America, and Mr. Dunning was profeſſedly devoted to Lord S.: his ground, therefore, was ſtrong. He offered a preamble to a bill which he was bringing into the Houſe, that involved all the points in diſpute reſpecting America; and he made ſuch objections to the independence of that country, which was expreſſly agreed upon to be unconditionally granted, as effectually to delay its execution.

Had Lord Rockingham recovered from his illneſs, it is probable that he would have obliged Lord S. either to alter his conduct, or to retire from adminiſtration. The dread which the Court party had of his power, and the confidence which the nation placed in him, combining with the general opinion, at that time, of the neceſ-

ſity

ſity of the Adminiſtration being entruſted to his care, warrant the conjecture.

When his illneſs obliged him to retire from buſineſs, the field was left open to Lord S. Mr. Fox, with whom reſted the execution of the meaſures reſpecting the independence of America, which were then under the conſideration of the Cabinet Council, found himſelf in a minority, and therefore incapable of obtaining its grant in that unconditional manner, which had been previouſly agreed upon: he therefore thought it neceſſary, firſt conſulting the ſituation of Lord Rockingham, who then lay in a very doubtful ſtate, to reſign his office.

This was ſoon determined by the deceaſe of that amiable and valuable perſon. It was decreed by Providence that this nation ſhould be humbled in the duſt. The general grief was ſincere and unaffected.

The

The loſs of this excellent perſon proved an acceſſion of great ſtrength to the Court party. Lord S. ſucceeded, in courſe, as firſt miniſter. He began early with the diſcuſſion of the American queſtion, and made a vehement proteſtation, that the moment the independence of America ſhould become granted, the ſun of Great Britain muſt ſet for ever.

When Lord S. became the miniſter, he, doubtleſs, found reaſon to ſuppoſe that opinions in a certain quarter were not averſe even to granting independence to America. A diſcovery, which he might well conſider as the utmoſt conſequence to the duration of his power, as it facilitated the making peace, which he conſidered to be the foundation of a long adminiſtration to himſelf.

There is no judgement to be formed of the account which Lord S. gave in Parliament of the proviſional treaty. I am well aſſured that it proceeded more from the habit,

habit, to which he had been long accuſtomed, of giving indirect explanations: but, it had the effect of making people at that time believe there was ſome myſtery concealed under the treaty. — My next letter will conclude this part of my ſubject. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Oct. 29, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER VIII.

ON THE

NECESSITY

OF VESTING THE

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT

IN AN

ABLE AND VIGOROUS MINISTER.

Præclara igitur conſcientia ſuſtentor, cum cogito me de republica: aut meruiſſe optime cum potuerim: aut certe nunquam, niſi diviné, cogitaſſe: eaque ipſa tempeſtate reverſam eſſe rempublicam, quam ego quatuor decem annis ante proſpexerim.

CIC. *ad* ATT.

LETTER VIII.

TO ———————

COULD we ſuppoſe a prince in the ſituation of having committed faults, it might follow that he would find a full remedy in expiation; and this by throwing himſelf into the hands of thoſe, but thoſe only, who had been the tried friends of his family. This country can boaſt a ſubject whoſe character is exactly adapted to take the lead in adminiſtration, even during the moſt diſtracted ſtate of affairs. The following lines of Horace will confirm much more than any thing that I can ſay, the lofty conſtancy of this perſon's mind in the moſt arduous trials:

Juſtum

* *Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum,*
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni
Mente quatit ſolida, neque auſter,
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus:
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

His abilities are, beyond any compariſon, the firſt in the preſent age. His knowledge ſo comprehenſive and profound, as ſcarcely to find an equal even in the different learned profeſſions, which require a life of ſtudy. He has a force of eloquence, which, for the combined powers

* The man in conſcious virtue bold,
Who dares his ſecret purpoſe hold,
Unſhaken hears the crowd's tumultuous cries,
And the impetuous tyrant's angry brow defies.
Let the wild winds that rule the ſeas,
Tempeſtuous all their horrors raiſe;
Let Jove's dread arm with thunders rend the ſpheres,
Beneath the cruſh of worlds undaunted he appears.
Francis's Horace.

of

of brilliancy, fire, imagination, ſtrength and fluency of ideas, excels the beſt ſpeakers of modern times; perhaps rivals the firſt orators of antiquity.

Theſe aſtoniſhing talents are ſupported by a vigour and activity of mind, which is perpetually employed in ſome uſeful plans of government. Had ſuch powers been called into action when the nation was in proſperity, they would have been the means of ſupporting its grandeur. Were they called into action now, they would be the means (as far as human power can avail) of preſerving it from ruin.

But it is one of thoſe paradoxes, for which this age is famous, that every one confeſſes the greatneſs of his parts, and has a thorough conviction of his integrity, yet no one follows his advice: and thus is a life of above fifty years, matured by experience amidſt ſevere trials, and grown gray in the ſervice of the public, ſuffered

to fall a ſacrifice to the poignant feelings of his own mind, brooding over the diſordered ſituation of his private affairs, of which his attention to the public has been the cauſe; yet ſtill wholly engroſſed by that very public which has proved itſelf undeſerving of him.

The extraordinary abilities which he poſſeſſes neither render his manners harſh nor aſſuming, nor derogate in the leaſt degree from the character of the agreeable companion, the ſoothing and affectionate friend. He is a domeſtic man, intimately connected with, and attached to, his family. Liberal and indulgent in his conſtruction of the actions of others, he is rigorous and ſevere in the conſtruction of his own. His integrity has been put to the proof. He has rejected the means of advancing his fortune by methods which many men of the faireſt characters would not have ſcrupled to uſe, that certainly would not have been of the ſmalleſt injury

to

to the public, and yet have proved of material ſervice to a worthy individual.

He has his failings: at leaſt, if I may hazard this term, ſo infinitely ſuperior are thoſe virtues by which they are obſcured; but if they muſt have that appellation given to them, they are no more than the imperfections of a great and generous mind. In the opinion of ſome of his friends, he is too indiſcriminate in his praiſe, has great warmth of temper, and an aptitude to enforce his meaſures with too much heat and perſeverance.

If, in attempts to gain any acceſſion of ſtrength to his party, to defend ſome unfortunate perſon, or to eſtabliſh a man in his principles by well-timed applauſe, he ſometimes exceeds the ſtrict bounds to which he limits himſelf on the more important meaſures of government, they are wholly excited by a benevolent diſpoſition, always exerted on theſe occaſions with force, and generally with affection.

In this particular quality he bears a ſtriking reſemblance to Cicero. The praiſes of both, though influenced by the beſt motives, appear too indiſcriminate, and deſtroy the effect which the applauſe of ſuch excellent judges would otherwiſe produce. We are ſtruck with the brilliancy and fire of their eloquence, and often return to the orator thoſe very praiſes which were meant by him as the reward of modeſt merit, which is thus deprived of that elation of mind which the chaſtity of their praiſe would otherwiſe effect. In the greatneſs of their parts, and their general purſuits, theſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen have alſo a ſtrong ſimilitude. In their diſpoſition, however, they widely differ. The characteriſtic of the perſon of whom we ſpeak is firmneſs and deciſion, wholly oppoſite both to the vanity and deſpondence of mind which forms ſo prevalent a part in the character of the noble Roman.

But may I aſk theſe queſtions?—Ought not ſome allowance to be made for the want of temper in a man of theſe high qualities, who finds himſelf neglected not only by the public, in whoſe ſervice he has been long toiling, but by even his own friends? Again, how long do theſe ſudden marks of diſguſt to his friends (they will not bear the name of reſentment) continue? And what has been the return that he has made to a neglect which (I am not ſingle in opinion) proceeds, in ſome of them at leaſt, from jealouſy of his great parts?

I have deſired the liberty of aſking theſe queſtions for the ſake of explaining the nature of the complaints which are made of this excellent perſon; and I hope to be indulged with that of anſwering them. The warmth of temper ſhewn by him in public aſſemblies may be eſteemed by cautious men a want of prudence: but as we may apply the words which Cornelius Nepos uſes, when he ſpeaks of Cicero, to

this perſon, "*Non enim Cicero ea ſolum "quæ vivo ſe acciderant futura prædixit, "ſed etiam quæ nunc uſu veniunt, cecinit "ut vates," we ſhould be careful how far, under this conviction of mind, we ought to cenſure a conduct which ariſes from ſtrong feelings, from a conſciouſneſs of rectitude, and from an urgency of deſire to promote the public welfare.

It is unneceſſary to ſay much upon the warmth of temper, the ſudden impulſes of paſſion, which he has ſometimes ſhewn when he has differed in opinion from his friends. Theſe have, in general, been little more than a temporary diſguſt at ſuch of their actions as were irreconcilable to his own judgement, and never extended beyond wiſhes to retire from attendance on meaſures which did not meet with his approbation.

* For Cicero not only pointed out the events which came to paſs in his own life, but he predicted, as a prophet, even thoſe that were brought about in our days.

If we, however, conſider this matter more at large, and pay an attention to the behaviour of his friends to him, and his conduct in return, we ſhall find that their inattention has been repaid merely by acts of friendſhip, and by public applauſe; ſometimes, perhaps, too ſtrongly marked. Whether he would have acted moſt prudent in ſubmitting wholly to the diſpoſition of his particular friends, or in taking independent ground of his own, is a queſtion of ſuch delicacy, that I cannot venture an opinion upon it.

He certainly, by taking a medium line of conduct, gave much uneaſineſs to his friends. The motives on either ſide were good; but they had not his force of mind. He was diſturbed to ſee thoſe, to whom he had been long attached, and whoſe ſupport he ſo ardently deſired, averſe to the vigour of action which he was continually recommending to them. His friends, who, on their parts, notwithſtanding theſe little differences, had a ſin-

cere affection for him, were, on the contrary, uneaſy that he would not ſubmit to their opinion.

Theſe opinions he could not approve. His friends had ſubmitted almoſt implicitly to ſome of their party, who, although in poſſeſſion of the moſt ſhining talents, had neither thoſe fixed principles, nor that regularity of conduct, requiſite in the leader of a party acting upon principle. His own natural ſimplicity of diſpoſition preſerved him from any deſire of rivalſhip, and his tenderneſs to his friends not only made him ultimately follow their example, but even take pains to ſhew that his friendſhip to the parties, whoſe conduct he thought moſt cenſurable, was not unimpaired.

Many ſtruggles, however, conſequently ſome warmth of temper, attended this compliance. From hence aroſe thoſe complaints which ſome of his beſt friends made to one another, and to which I have been

been a frequent and painful confident. Thoſe who were jealous of his parts endeavoured to improve theſe opportunities of leſſening his influence; and they have had the effect of making his beſt friends, though not leſs warm in their regard for him, much more apprehenſive of his temper. But in theſe complaints there was no conſideration paid to the peculiarity of both their and his ſituation. They had involved themſelves; he wiſhed both to free himſelf and to ſet them free. The event has juſtified the propriety of his conduct; for it is an indiſputable truth, that had his frequent admonitions been attended to by his friends, they would have been at this time a reſpectable, not a broken party.

My next and laſt conſideration is, the imputation fixed upon him of an aptitude to enforce his meaſures with too much heat and perſeverance, making them the continual ſubject of his public ſpeeches and private converſation. This has certainly

tainly had the effect of ſubſtituting an almoſt-entire neglect of him in the Houſe of Commons, in the place of the moſt perfect attention. A greater deference and reſpect was never paid to the moſt diſtinguiſhed member.

I am, however, much more inclined to place this change of diſpoſition to the faſhionable levity of the times. Age and experience no longer attract reſpect. The miniſter is a very young man. He is ſupported by a long train of juvenile members, his companions. To theſe, and equally to thoſe of the oppoſite party, whoſe minds are devoted to pleaſure, ſuch a conduct muſt be irkſome. Others join in the ſame opinion, many from a good motive, an apprehenſion of its leſſening the character of a man whom they highly value: but, in fact, it proceeds from the want of ſufficient ſtrength of mind to bear the continued preſſure of even the moſt beneficial meaſures of Government.

Whatever

Whatever effects this quality may produce upon the preſent race of Engliſhmen, there is not a ſtronger and more inconteſtable proof of the character of a great man. Vaſt and comprehenſive minds, who ſee the importance of objects, can never be at reſt till they have inveſtigated all their parts. Theſe continual reſearches extend to their converſation in private, to all their actions in public life. Their whole thoughts are directed to theſe purpoſes, and they become inſenſible to every other employment that has not ſome great end in view.

In his temper he has not the ſmalleſt diſguiſe, his great openneſs and ſimplicity often leading him to declare his ſentiments with a freedom which all perſons are not able to bear. In this manner he is a ſtrong advocate for the coalition, and has avowed his ſentiments very clearly upon that meaſure. His diſlike of, I ought rather to ſay his diſguſt at, popular opinions has, perhaps, ſtrengthened him

too

too much in attachments, which are not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſuitable to his own purity of mind.

In all important meaſures of Government he is clear, open, and determined. In the cloſet theſe qualities are eſſentially requiſite; no man would conduct himſelf with greater propriety. In affairs of little moment, his natural deſire to pleaſe would make him ſubmit to the pleaſure of the Crown; but in all the weighty meaſures of Government his opinions would be firm and explicit, his actions vigorous and decided.

I ſhall conclude the deſcription of this great and valuable character by ſaying, that, although he has neither the advantages of great property or extenſive connections, yet were he deſired to take a lead in the adminiſtration of affairs, he would, doubtleſs, have the ſupport of the Cavendiſhes, the Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, and the other great Whig families,

lies, amply poſſeſſed of both. They reſpect his virtues — they love his perſon.

I do not conſider this to be a very improbable event, ſhould this deſerving perſon remain in England. In this time of diſtreſs, his long-acknowledged abilities and integrity muſt make him a capital object of attention. His mind is known to be full of reſources, and ſuch a ſeaſon calls loudly for them. The nation has no other character equally unexceptionable, and in which the moſt capacious and active powers of Government, inflexible integrity and private virtue, are ſo happily blended. There is another circumſtance which muſt have its operation. This is the neglect with which he has been treated by ſome of his party, who are perſonally diſliked in another quarter. The neareſt and moſt intimate connection which a particular perſon enjoys, ſeems fully ſenſible of the neceſſity of having a miniſter who has not only the firmneſs to expoſe too-favoured evils in their fulleſt and moſt odi-

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ous view, but the capacity to remove them.

My preſent employment is full of difficulty from the importance of the ſubject, and full of delicacy from the peculiar ſituation in which I ſtand with this excellent perſon. I derive experience from a long and intimate connection, and I have employed it with the ſtricteſt regard to truth. My firſt attachment to him aroſe ſolely from principle; the continuance of it from affection and eſteem. I felt it a duty, in taking leave of my country, to expreſs theſe my ſentiments with fidelity and exactneſs. To deſcribe a character is a voluntary act: and were I not fully ſenſible that the failings (if I may make uſe of the expreſſion) of this eminent perſon were merely the ſudden flaſhes of a great and generous mind, full of the moſt tranſcendent virtues, I certainly ſhould not have undertaken the employment: it would not have been that of a friend. It is now

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the higheſt gratification which, in abſence from him, I can receive.

I ought, however, to have premiſed, that my hopes and expectations wholly ariſe from the diſtreſs in which I foreſee that one, to whom he owes all proper obedience, muſt be involved. In this ſituation, neceſſity is a law, to which the ſtrongeſt muſt ſubmit: and circumſtances the moſt improbable have ariſen from a complicated ſcene of confuſion. Were not theſe the motives by which I have been influenced to offer my opinions, I ſhould be deſervedly ſtiled a writer of romance.

Any prince whatſoever might accompliſh the purpoſes of eaſe to himſelf, his family, and his people, by veſting the adminiſtration of his affairs in the hands of ſuch a man as I have here deſcribed — a man of integrity, of honour, of ability, ſupported by families of great property and extenſive connections — in fine, poſſeſſed of thoſe qualifications which, by engaging

engaging the confidence of all honeſt men, would put an end to any diſtractions of the empire even in the moment of their ariſing, and timely guard againſt the calamities which, in ſuch a caſe, would threaten the kingdom: and hence peace and happineſs to the prince and people would certainly enſue. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 1, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER IX.

ON THE

STATE OF THE COMMERCE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

BEFORE THE WAR.

——Vireſque acquirit eundo——

VIRG.

LETTER IX.

TO ——————

HAVING taken great pains to procure information of the ſtate of our North-American and Weſt-India commerce during a period of twenty years, and having paid a particular attention to the views and ſituation of the great continent which now conſtitutes the United States, I thought it proper to publiſh my opinions. I did it in a work entitled Conſiderations upon the preſent State of Great Britain and the United States of North America with reſpect to their future Commercial Connections. As this includes the chief part of what I have to ſay upon the North-American trade, it will be the means of contracting this letter, which is to treat of the preſent condition of our

commerce, ſo far as it bears a relation to the circumſtances of the government, and the ſtate of our manners.

In a former letter I took notice of the great acceſſion to our commerce during the war of 1756, by the poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole of the colonial empire of France, and a valuable part of that of Spain, which, cauſing nearly the whole trade of thoſe nations to center in our ports, filled them with purchaſers from every part of Europe: and although many of our conqueſts were, in a manner, ſquandered away at the peace of 1762, we had yet a great increaſe of empire. Our American and Weſt-India colonies grew to an immenſe ſize, notwithſtanding the impolitic management which, as a part of the new ſyſtem, was introduced into the colonial government.

Some of theſe regulations anſwering all the purpoſes of the French and Spaniſh Courts, who kept guarda coſtas in conſtant

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pay to prevent the Engliſh coloniſts from trading with their ſubjects, appeared very ſtrange in the ſyſtem of a Britiſh government. Theſe new arrangements were the ground work of the troubles with which the colonies were afterwards afflicted. From thence aroſe the burdenſome and miſchievous laws of the cuſtoms. The impoſition of taxes and the long train of vexatious regulations followed. As I have already collected ſome materials, perhaps I may trouble you and the world with detached remarks upon this wretched ſyſtem of commerce.

A view of the flouriſhing ſtate of the empire, at this time, leads me to the obſervations which, in the letter that I have referred to, I made upon the ſubject of the funds. Theſe, after all the fluctuations which attended the peace were over, ſettled at about ten per cent. under the par price of one hundred for the three per cents. The country having juſt emerged from an expenſive war, required time to

acquire a ſufficient ſurplus of wealth to provide, as well for the improvements which were made in the kingdom, as for the purpoſe of raiſing the decreaſed value of the funds to its proper ſtandard.

I conſider this to be the cauſe why the funds did not riſe to their ſtandard: it confirms the opinion which I have already advanced, that, taking in all contingencies of Government, (particularly a bad ſyſtem, which is long felt by poſterity) if the national debt exceeds one hundred millions, it is attended with a burden injurious to the people, leſſening the value of the public funds, and increaſing the intereſt on the capitals employed in trade.

The proſpects which appeared at the peace of 1762 were highly flattering. The increaſe of commerce and population in our colonies would have proved the means of producing this ſurplus, required for the advance of the funds, had not one of thoſe contingencies happened to which

I have

I have alluded. This contingency, which was the ſettlement of vaſt and unprofitable eſtates in the conquered iſlands in the Weſt Indies, chiefly Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Dominica, waſted ſuch immenſe ſums of money, that it produced, in the year 1772, the moſt diſtreſſing conſequences to the commercial intereſt.

A very large ſum of money was conſumed in theſe undertakings: the richeſt merchants in London ſunk under the weight of them. Banks had been erected for the purpoſes of circulation, to ſupply part of the money required. Many of thoſe were obliged to ſtop their payments, occaſioning heavy loſſes to the landed proprietors, who were obliged to make good the deficiencies. The conſternation into which all men of buſineſs were thrown, is a full proof of the magnitude of the diſtreſs which it occaſioned.

When a national debt has reached to that exceſs as to make its payment im-

practicable, the only prudent ſtep that remains is to confine it within bounds. Some politicians have diſcovered great advantage in a conſtant national debt. A temporary benefit was, perhaps, derived from it, when the family upon the throne was threatened by the houſe of Stuart; but theſe probable advantages are capitally overbalanced by very poſitive injuries. A national debt has many grievances. Amongſt theſe, it burdens the manufacturer with taxes to maintain a vaſt body of idle people, who live upon the labour of the hive. They are the inactive drones of the State, and ſubſiſt upon the money which the public takes out of the pockets of the induſtrious to pay the intereſt for the debt it owes.

Had not the American war happened, the nation would have ſoon recovered the ſevere blow which it received in 1772. Her American colonies continued yearly to increaſe. Her ancient Weſt-India plantations were greatly augmented in growth.

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The exports to North America had increaſed from 1,038,000l. (including the African exports) the medium from 1739 to 1756, to 3,650,000l. the medium of the three years preceding the war. Thoſe to the Weſt Indies, upon the ſame compariſon, from 842,000l. to 1,850,000l. The North-American trade has been repreſented by ſome writers in ſuch falſe colouring, as cannot fail to have an effect upon a people whoſe prejudices are too great to expect them to be eaſily undeceived.

Differing, upon commercial grounds, exceedingly from the opinions of Lord Sheffield, I cannot obſerve, without the utmoſt ſurpriſe, that he has aſcribed the great convulſion amongſt the merchants in 1772, to the loſſes which accrued from the American trade; and the rather, becauſe ſeveral of the firſt families, who had connections with banks, had a very ſtrong impreſſion made upon their remembrance

by

by the delapidation of their eſtates, which were obliged to make good the loſs.

I believe that it is yet generally remembered, that, in the caſe of evidence given to the Houſe of Commons before the commencement of the war, one of the firſt North-American merchants in London declared at the bar, that he remembered but one bankruptcy of conſequence in that trade; nor probably is it leſs known that the amount of all the debts due to the merchants, conſtituting the capital advanced to the Americans, was taken in the latter end of the year 1774, and was found to be ſix millions. The account was again taken, in the ſame manner, the latter end of 1775, and then proved to be only two millions, four millions having been diſcharged during the period in which theſe two accounts were taken. This fact is a very ſtrong corroboration of the aſſertion made at that time by thoſe of the American merchants who acted a fair and manly part, "that they had no other ap-

"prehenſion

" prehenſion for the debts due to them " from America than from the meaſures " which had been adopted by Govern- " ment."

This was the ſtate of our colonial trade at that period. Our European commerce was alſo in a very flouriſhing condition, though not in ſuch a proportionate increaſe. Our manufacturers had explored their way into almoſt every part of the Continent of Europe. The manufacturers of Norwich, Mancheſter, and Birmingham, kept the fairs in Italy, and Engliſh riders to take orders for goods were to be met with in every capital town in Germany, and the North. Holland was the place of general rendezvous. In the Engliſh inns of Amſterdam might be conſtantly ſeen traders from Great Britain, who had taken the rout of almoſt every nation in Chriſtendom.

The view of an extenſive commerce affords the moſt luxuriant reflections upon its

its general utility to mankind. It combines nation with nation in the exchange of friendly offices, ſoftens the moſt turbulent manners, and makes even the cruelty of war bend to its power. Kings, who, in former times, never made an excurſion from their capital to a country ſeat without a legion of guards, now travel from one kingdom to another as private men.

The wealth which this extenſive commerce brought into the kingdom preſerved it even for a long time againſt the wretched government upon the new ſyſtem. Continual inroads were, notwithſtanding, made upon it by almoſt perpetual diſputes with the North-American colonies, apparently deſigned to keep alive the flame of diſſention, and to kindle a war upon the firſt favourable occaſion. There is a quality in commerce, that of equalizing the different orders of a ſtate by the means of the riches which it acquires, that is very favourable to liberty. This was conſe-

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quently offenſive to ſome political characters, who, perhaps, wiſhed to introduce a new ſyſtem of government.

For a few years before the war with America commenced, the manufacturers had been ſo fully employed in the execution of orders from that country, as to leave ſome other branches of their trade without ſupply. When, therefore, the war began, and the American export ceaſed, they were, for a conſiderable time, engaged in the completion of their orders, both for the inland trade and for foreign parts. But when theſe branches of trade had received their regular ſupplies, and had taken their uſual courſe, the manufacturers felt the want of employment, and would have been ſevere ſufferers, had it not been for the trade of war, which then began to riſe into importance.

The manufacturers who were chiefly affected were thoſe of woollens, iron ware, nails, cutlery, glaſs, tobacco pipes, and all

all thoſe articles, the conſumption of which were chiefly confined to America. The manufactures of Norwich, Mancheſter, Coventry, and thoſe which depend upon fancy, had obtained ſuch poſſeſſion of the inland and European trade, that they did not ſuffer in any kind of proportion. I muſt, however, except one branch of the Mancheſter manufactory, the African trade.

The war was a vaſt trade in itſelf, and employed many hands. The workmen in the different branches at Birmingham, Sheffield, and the iron countries, which ſuffered by the war, were engaged in the caſting of cannon, the fabrication of guns, and other implements of deſtruction. The contractor, the clothier, and the taylor, for the clothing of the different armies — the baker, the brewer, and all thoſe who furniſhed proviſions for their ſupport — the rope maker, the ſhip carpenter, the cooper, the ſail maker, the ſhip chandler, and the dependencies upon ſhipping — the

owners

owners of ſhips freighted by Government, with a variety of other trades and profeſſions, were all buſily employed in the commerce of war.

The Engliſh were not aware that theſe circumſtances would infallibly deprive them of all their ill-gotten profits: that ſuch a compliance with them would not only be productive of burdenſome taxes, but that, at the ſame time, the very means by which theſe taxes were to be paid would be equally reduced.

The candidates, however, for theſe employments ruſhed forward without fear of conſequences. The member of Parliament who ſubſcribed declarations againſt contracts, places, and penſions, could not muſter up reſolution to refuſe a good offer for his ſhip, though it was to carry out ſoldiers for the purpoſe of proſecuting a war which he oppoſed. The merchant determined within himſelf, that if Government offered to give him a letter of

marque

marque for his veſſel, to make prize of the property of his fellow ſubjects; others would accept it, ſhould he refuſe. The tradeſman, who, in his nightly club, exclaimed againſt the American conteſt, ſpent his mornings in eager ſearch of orders for goods, which were to be employed in acts of hoſtility. Religion made no diſtinction. The Quaker, who prayed to God to preſerve him from the ſin of paying his quota to the militia, who were to protect his country, manufactured gunpowder, and forged guns and ſwords, to deſtroy his fellow creatures.

Other manufacturers, who, for the want of ſuch a cuſtomer, had no orders to execute, continued to fill their warehouſes with manufactured goods, in the continual hope of an end being put to this unhappy war. Some of theſe goods were purchaſed by the merchants of Holland; but the far greater part was left in their hands.

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The public having conceived an opinion that the diſpoſition of perſons apparently of great power and influence was very adverſe to grant independence to America, the news of the peace was rather unexpected; and not only the warehouſes of thoſe who had manufactured on ſpeculation, but of the manufacturers concerned for the war trade, (who had prepared great quantities, in expectation of another campaign) were full of goods. The effects which the peace produced upon our commerce ſhall be the ſubject of my next letter. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea, the Anniverſary of the landing of King William, a glorious day for England, Nov. 4, 1784.

LETTER X.

ON THE

STATE OF THE COMMERCE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

SINCE THE PEACE.

—— Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?

VIRG.

LETTER X.

TO ——————

——————————————

THE peace infuſed a new ſpirit into our commerce. Had the government, been then placed in hands which promiſed ſteadineſs and permanency — had this ſeaſon, ſo propitious to the reviſal of our commerce, been properly improved — and had the American trade been regulated as nearly to its ancient ſyſtem as the circumſtances of the two nations would admit, Great Britain might, by degrees, have recovered from her loſſes: ſhe might not have attained to that ſtupendous commerce, and to the great power which ſhe formerly poſſeſſed, but ſhe might yet have rendered herſelf a very reſpectable monarchy.

The very reverſe happened in all reſpects. The people of the United States, who, in their colonial ſituation, had been the chief inſtrument of raiſing the mother country to her aſtoniſhing grandeur and riches, and who, from the inſtant that Great Britain had given her peace, ſhewed an inclination of reviving their old connections, were caſt from us with a marked diſdain. From being powerful fellow ſubjects, we now looked upon them as dangerous rivals, and viewed them with a jealous eye. Local and tranſitory reſentments in any of the States were converted into fixed and inveterate prejudices of the whole union. The wild and unſeemly vanity of ſome Americans, who viſited the mother country, (there are a few who would have preſerved the moderation of that people on their ſucceſs) was ſubſtituted for the ſenſe of a nation.

Solomon obſerves, that "jealouſy is "the rage of a man:" — "A fool rageth "and is confident." This has been the

preciſe

preciſe ſituation of Great Britain. Envy and reſentment have clouded her underſtanding, and made her blind to the benefits which ſhe had formerly, and which ſhe might ſtill have enjoyed from a well-regulated connection with theſe riſing States; but her vindictive pride has been her puniſhment. She has been ignorantly ſcattering with profuſion the advantages in her poſſeſſion, without the ſmalleſt attention to the mode of retribution, much leſs to profitable returns.

America had been exhauſted by the war; and the natural conſequences of this is, that ſhe has not the capacity to pay for the quantities of goods which are neceſſary to her in the ruinous ſtate to which ſhe had been reduced.

On the other hand, the Engliſh warehouſes were full of goods, and in great want of purchaſers. The proprietors were not ignorant of the exhauſted ſtate of America. The old merchants, many of

whom, by their conduct during the war, had diſguſted their American correſpondents, and in whom the manufacturers and tradeſmen had an habitual confidence, executed very few orders. The few American merchants were moſtly unknown, and the orders which they gave, greatly exceeding their known or even reputed property, made thoſe who were to ſupply the goods eſtimate the riſque of truſting them at a high rate.

This riſque was ſtill farther increaſed by the prohibitory proclamations. Theſe put a ſtop to various modes of remittances, which were formerly directly and circuitouſly ſent to the Britiſh merchant in payment for the manufactures which the Americans purchaſed of him.

The refuſal, in effect, by theſe proclamations, of capital ſums in payment for the goods with which the Britiſh Government ſuffered her merchants to ſupply the Americans,

Americans, aroſe from ſpeculative politicians.

Theſe gentlemen amuſed themſelves with building caſtles in the air, which were to hold thouſands of future exporters of lumber and proviſions from the inhoſpitable wilds of Canada and Nova Scotia, and a long additional train of ſhip builders and fiſhermen in Great Britain. The climate of thoſe countries would ſoon convert the caſtles of ſuch politicians into ice, and congeal the blood of their fancied inhabitants; or, if it were poſſible, that, by ſquandering away immenſe ſums of money, we could cut down the foreſts, and fill the country with people, they would ceaſe to be ſubjects.

In either caſe, it is a deſtructive ſpeculation. For, with reſpect to our future fiſheries, if we have not ſufficient induſtry to maintain a ſuperiority over thoſe of America, which are at three thouſand miles diſtance, and from thence formerly

ſupplied

ſupplied our markets with oil, we ſhall never exceed our preſent bounds. As to our ſhip carpenters, their price is now ſo great as to render the holding a property in ſhips of no profit.

It is ridiculous to mention the carrying trade, for which ſuch a clamour had been raiſed. Our folly has left us no other part than that which we can reſtrain by law. This will be a poor reſtraint, a mere ſpider's web, if the merchant does not find it his intereſt to obey it.

The merchants in America who had ſpecie, ſent it in payment for the goods which they ordered. They were, therefore, readily ſupplied. There were, however, few in this ſituation: the orders in general were, therefore, executed upon long credit. The warehouſes being crowded with goods, was the ſingle temptation to fulfil the orders received in this manner. The precaution which they took to leſſen the riſque, was to charge the goods

which

which they ſupplied at a higher price than uſual.

All trade, which has not an equivalent capital to ſupport it, is carried on in the ſpirit of adventurous gambling, the effects of which are not felt till the day of payment approaches. The apprehenſions of the merchants firſt ſound the alarm; thoſe of the manufacturers and tradeſmen follow, and are quickly ſpread abroad. Theſe ſymptoms have already appeared in London. The conſequences which muſt ſoon appear will probably prove fatal to great numbers. There has not been an adminiſtration ſince the peace (we have had them in rapid ſucceſſion) to whom theſe conſequences have not been diſtinctly pointed out, and who have not been repeatedly told that a judicious ſettlement of the American commerce would, in a great meaſure, prevent them.

The Americans, as I have already obſerved, were not able to make immediate

payment

payment for the great quantity of goods which they imported. The conſequence has been, that though ſome of the early importations were ſold well, the ſubſequent ones have met with very few purchaſers, except at ſuch long credit as will probably prove, in the end, deſtructive both to buyer and ſeller. A great part had been ſold at auction, and ſent into the interior parts of the country. The loſſes which will attend theſe importations muſt fall ultimately upon the manufacturer in Great Britain who ſupplied the goods.

It is very probable that the dreadful proſpect which opens itſelf to Great Britain will be ſoon matured. The two great wounds, which the commercial part of it may expect, will be received from the Eaſt-India Company, and the American merchants. Of the latter, enough has been ſaid: the former cannot be mentioned without horror.

The

The real proprietors have no authority left: their ſervants are become their maſters. The common forms of trade are too frigid and contracted for the far greater part of theſe gentlemen. They have a much more facile method of making their fortunes. This is the trade of plunder, which they firſt ſqueeze out of the miſerable inhabitants, and then ſquander their wealth at home; a part in neceſſary bribes for protection, and the remainder in corrupting the manners of the people by the moſt wanton profuſion.

The preſent Adminiſtration, who are their avowed protectors, have loaded the people with taxes for the ſupport of the Eaſt-India Company, or, more properly ſpeaking, for the ſupport of their clients, the ſervants of that Company. The money which that Company owed to Government for the payment of duties, is commuted by a window tax, to be paid by the people at large. This commutation is for the duties which the Company formerly

merly paid upon their tea. Surely that poiſonous weed has been already ſufficiently deſtructive. Tea has ruined both the conſtitution and the manners of half the kingdom; tea was one great cauſe of the loſs of America; and tea will now, in all probability, bring home to the door of Great Britain the miſchief which ſhe has cauſed it to produce in America.

The condition of the affairs of the Company both in England and the Eaſt — the large debts due to Government and private people — the immenſe value of the bills which are under their acceptance, and unpaid — and the inveſtments for remittances, ſwallowed up in the enormous wealth of their ſervants, to whom the Company are now merely factors, are ſo many clear proofs of abſolute and ruinous bankruptcy. The people, who have been plundered by the preſent miniſters to pay their duties and their dividends, are ſtill to be plundered to pay off their debts, in order to re-eſtabliſh

re-eſtabliſh this monopoly for farther oppreſſion and diſtreſs.

It has been the cauſe of much ſpeculation, whether the Europeans have ever carried on a productive trade with the Eaſt Indies. That extenſive country, poſſeſſing every advantage that can be derived from climate, abounds with people who are amply ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but even the luxuries of life. The mildneſs of the climate, and the forms both of their religion and government, aſſiſted by a natural ingenuity of mind, diſpoſe them to domeſtic employments: hence they have ſome of the moſt beautiful fabrics in the world; and thus are the products of the Eaſt Indies ſufficient not only for the conſumption of the inhabitants, but for the purpoſes of export. The trade, therefore, with that country, from the earlieſt accounts in hiſtory, has been carried on by the trafficking the ſilver of Europe for the manufactures and luxuries of the Eaſt.

This

This was the manner in which the trade to the Eaſt Indies was formerly carried on by the ancients. The merchandize was chiefly tranſported by the way of the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, which were then ſurrounded by a fertile and populous country, full of great and powerful cities. This communication extended to almoſt the whole of the Eaſt-India trade. The commerce of Egypt was at that time confined to the Red ſea, and the different cities on the Malabar coaſt, as far ſouth as the iſland of Ceylon, beyond which the ancients never navigated. The Romans, when they became maſters of Egypt, greatly extended the trade through this channel.

The wars between the Romans and Parthians firſt obſtructed the channel of communication by the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas; and the irruptions of the Tartars having entirely depopulated its beautiful coaſt, the trade centered wholly in Egypt.

Alexandria

Alexandria was the principal market for the merchandize of the Eaſt.

The commerce continued to be confined to this city after the deſtruction of the eaſtern empire. The Venetians became the principal purchaſers of their valuable commodities, which they afterwards diſtributed through Europe, deriving enormous profits from this traffic. Venice, by theſe means, became one of the moſt powerful ſtates in Europe.

The laſt change was produced by the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope. How long the trade will continue in its preſent ſtate, or whether it will fall back into its ancient channel through Egypt, (a much more natural communication) is a matter of doubt. It will, however, be carried on, in ſome ſhape, by individuals, ſo long as there remains money in Europe to purchaſe the luxuries of India.

The queſtion for the national conſideration is, whether the trade is beneficial or unproductive? It muſt certainly have been unproductive to the ancients, ſince they derived but a comparatively ſcanty ſupply of ſilver from the mines in their poſſeſſion. The Indian commodities were indeed ſold at an immenſe profit; but this was only a partial advantage to the merchant who carried on the trade. The nation was no otherwiſe benefited than by the increaſe of its navigation, which we may ſuppoſe did not bear a proportion to the inconveniences which it ſuffered by being drained of its ſpecie. We are aſſured of this circumſtance, that as the luxuries of Rome increaſed, almoſt the whole of which were brought from Aſia and the Eaſt, the ſcarcity of ſilver was marked by the proportionate baſeneſs of the coin.

The moſt natural channel between Europe and the Indies appears to be through Egypt, which is the proper entrepot for the

the commodities of the Eaſt. The manners of the Turks are ſomewhat ſoftened, and perhaps ſome great revolution in Aſia may take place. This is an age of extraordinary events. In Europe, there are very ſtrong appearances of a revolution in politics. The little States, which have hitherto ſubſiſted upon the jealouſy of their great neighbours, will ſoon become a ſacrifice to theſe potent rivals.

The preſent European companies will not be able long to maintain their ground; it is, therefore, more than probable that an end, at leaſt for ſome time, will be put to the tedious and expenſive voyages round the Cape of Good Hope. The uniform experience which we have had of the failure of ſucceſs in every Eaſt-India Company in Europe, ſeems to point out the probability of this event.

I ſhall not, in this place, take the conduct of the ſervants of the Companies into conſideration, but merely examine the

principles upon which this commerce is carried on. The voyages round the Cape of Good Hope (as I have already obſerved) are tedious and expenſive. The paſſage, on the contrary, through Egypt, is ſhort and expeditious. The latter circumſtance has alſo another, and a very capital advantage. This ariſes from the ſituation of Egypt, which forms a very happy entrepot for the commodities of both Europe and the Eaſt.

An entrepot, in a medium ſituation, is an object of great importance to the merchants of both countries. They perform their voyages to the place of rendezvous with greater eaſe; their buſineſs is much ſooner diſpatched; and they have the ſatisfaction of returning with greater expedition. A voyage to the Eaſt Indies is now a work of years; the inconvenience of which is continually increaſing, according to its extent, in multiplied proportions.

Another

Another diſadvantage attending this trade is, the carrying it on by means of bullion only. I am ſenſible that the export of ſilver is not productive of the ſame inconveniences to the moderns as were felt by the ancients; the diſcovery of America having afforded ſuch an ample ſupply of that commodity as to occaſion a very conſiderable increaſe in its value.

The export of ſilver to the Eaſt Indies has been even repreſented to be of advantage, by preventing a greater accumulation in Europe, which would otherwiſe, by the continual import from America, abound too much with that commodity for the purpoſes of commerce. A great reduction of the value of money under its preſent ſtandard, would be the means of leſſening the value of merchandize. The tranſportation is attended with a heavy expence. This would increaſe, and might, by degrees, ſwallow up the profit.

Gold and ſilver are choſen as the medium of commerce, becauſe they are ſcarcer than any other metal, and therefore more portable. If they could be procured in equal quantities, ſome other diſtinction muſt be invented.

But ſhould the export of bullion to the Eaſt Indies prove, in this view, an advantage to Europe in general, yet the trade, partially conſidered with reſpect to particular nations, will be productive of either good or ill effects, according to their different circumſtances. Spain and Portugal appear to be very ſtriking inſtances in proof of this aſſertion. They are the proprietors of all the gold and ſilver mines, yet a very ſmall proportion belongs to them. The Spaniards do not retain a twentieth part of the bullion which they import.

They have not a ſufficient quantity of goods for the ſupply of their colonies. They are obliged to ſuffer the different

nations

nations in Europe to ſend them manufactures, which they tranſport to the Indies, where they are exchanged for ſpecie. This precious commodity, which is firſt conveyed to Spain, is the profitable return made to the proprietors in re-payment for theſe goods. The diſcovery of the riches of the Indies has proved of eſſential injury to the mother country. Mexico and Peru are, in fact, no longer her property. They are become the general property of thoſe nations which carry on the trade, by providing the goods neceſſary for the conſumption of the inhabitants.

The advantage or injury from the Eaſt-India trade to a particular ſtate, therefore, wholly depends upon circumſtances. Venice derived both power and riches from this trade.

The high price of the funds in England before the war of 1756, and the very moderate intereſt ſhe then paid, afforded no appearances of injury from the export of

ſilver by the Eaſt-India Company. That Company then acted in their proper capacity, as a body of merchants. On the contrary, the preſent low price of our funds, the ſcarcity of money, and the high intereſt we pay for it, are evident marks of the neceſſity of reſtraining this trade. All circumſtances, therefore, now combine to ſupport the opinion, that the Eaſt-India trade is unprofitable and deſtructive.

A nation, in the ſituation of Great Britain, loaded with an immenſe debt, its credit great and extenſive, the medium of its commerce, notwithſtanding a large quantity of ſpecie, requiring an enormous paper circulation, and whoſe Bank notes ſupply the place of coin, has every thing to fear from the conſequences of the violent convulſions with which it is threatened. They may be properly compared to a dreadful conflagration, which the want of water ſuffers to rage with ungo-

vernable

vernable fury, without any poſſibility of fixing the bounds of its extent.

One great conſequence cannot fail to be produced — that of emigration. When I have treated of the manners of the people, which have been the primary cauſe of all their calamities, I ſhall take this ſubject into conſideration. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 6, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

UPON THE

FORMER AND PRESENT STATE

OF THE

MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

Privatis illis cenſus erat brevis,
Commune magnum.

HOR.

LETTER XI.

TO ——————

CICERO, in his letters to Atticus, written a few years before the government of the Roman republic was uſurped by Cæſar, deſcribes very much the manners of our times, in the account which he gives to his friend of the tranſactions at Rome. There are ſome expreſſions in them which more particularly apply to my preſent ſubject — "*Sed dolor eſt ma-*" *jor, cum videas civitatis voluntatem ſo-*" *lutam, virtutem alligatam**." The good citizen of our days will deplore, with equal grief and indignation, the licentiouſ-

* But how much more woeful is it, when we conſider that the ſpirit of our countrymen is unbraced, and their virtue choaked?

Guthrie's Tranſlation.

neſs

neſs which ſo generally prevails amongſt his countrymen, and the indifference, or, rather, contempt, in which virtue is conſidered amongſt them. Rome was then, what Great Britain is now, in a very willing diſpoſition to receive a maſter.

There are many points in which the two nations have an agreement. They were both famous, in the better days of their government, for a ſtubborn virtue bordering upon ferociouſneſs, and a love of liberty reaching to enthuſiaſm. The example of this great people, when under the influence of luxury and licentiouſneſs of manners, points out to us the eaſe with which a tranſition is made from theſe vices to the moſt abject ſervility. Rome was diſtinguiſhed for this baſe quality, after it had loſt its liberty. Great Britain, ſimilar in diſpoſition, when its people were freemen, will be ſimilar in diſpoſition ſhould they become ſlaves.

The

The judicial part of our Conſtitution is certainly leſs corrupt. Whenever the private property of the ſubject has been in queſtion, the conduct of the judges, in our times, has been without blemiſh.

The principal cauſes which produced the preſent diſſolute manners throughout the nation, have ariſen within theſe few years. Formerly they were confined to the capital; but ſince the great roads have been repaired, new ones made, and the communication with the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom rendered eaſy, theſe manners have been generally introduced. In ſome parts, where the natural bluntneſs of manners have received only a finer edge and poliſh, the effects have been good. The taverns have been leſs, the ſociety of women (without whom there can be no true reliſh of life) more frequented. Amongſt theſe their manners have been improved, and rendered more ſociable. In other parts, the moſt brutal vices of the capital have rendered the inhabitants,

if poſſible, ſtill more brutal; and, in ſome places, an exceſs of a higher kind of debauchery, and the more expenſive refinements of luxurious living, have been mixed with the loweſt vices.

The manners of thoſe whoſe rough diſpoſitions admitted a poliſh by a more ſocial intercourſe with the world, were improved, generally ſpeaking, without injury to their eſtates. If ſome amongſt them have fallen, others have ariſen to ſupply their places. But men, who have merely imbibed the brutal vices of the capital, have been not only rendered ſtill more diſguſting by the increaſe of their natural vices, but alſo by the increaſe of their low cunning and fraudulent deſire of gain. Whilſt it may be ſaid of thoſe amongſt whom the debaucheries, both of the firſt and of the loweſt rank, have been received, that expenſive living, dreſs, and love of pleaſure of every kind, have deſtroyed their natural induſtry, made them neglect their buſineſs, and ultimately ope-

rated

rated as the means of producing a general ruin.

The fashions of the town, which formerly travelled only once or twice a year with the judges on the circuit, or with the principal persons of the country, when they returned from London, are brought down almost daily by the stage coaches, which now travel, night and day, from the capital even to the Highlands of Scotland, the mountains of Wales, and the extremity of Cornwall. Fashions not being very congenial to the grave body of the law, the men of the country were very slow in their approaches. Women, to whom the improvement of their persons is more natural, and indeed laudable, when kept within proper bounds, made a greater progress in imitating them. The Spectator (the "*magister morum*" of the age in which he wrote) has described some circumstances which relate to this subject with great humour.

In the city of London a ſobriety of manners then prevailed. The police was more ſtrictly kept up, the hours regular, and the manners of the citizens, both in their dreſs and in their tables, were conſiſtent with their profeſſions. A line of diſtinction ſtill remained between the city and the weſt end of the town. Few of the merchants or principal people in trade reſided there.

The manners of people of rank and diſtinction were more particularly their own. They were ſeldom to be ſeen without ſome degree of ſplendour; and they preſerved a form in their appearance which inſpired their inferiors with reſpect. An attention both to dreſs and addreſs was neceſſary to every perſon who paid even a morning viſit to men of diſtinction.

Theſe appearances, which commanded perſonal reſpect and attention, were confined to men of rank, whilſt thoſe which ſprung from riches were generally diſtributed

buted through the kingdom. There was much real wealth in the country. Moſt families poſſeſſed a conſiderable quantity of plate and jewels, ſilks, linen, and other valuable moveables. Theſe deſcended from father to ſon, and from mother to daughter. The plate was maſſy, the linen fine and durable, the ſilks rich and weighty. Purchaſes were then made for poſterity. Theſe appeared only on public occaſions, or in families upon a marriage, chriſtening, or any ſuch extraordinary feſtivals. The ornaments were coſtly, and were not ſo much the property of the temporary poſſeſſor as the property of his family.

Our manners, conſidered as a people, had no material change before the influx of wealth after the peace of 1763. The alterations made in them by the increaſe of our commerce proceeding from the acquiſitions of the war, were generally ſo many improvements. The corruption aroſe from the plunder of our territorial empire in the Eaſt. We have only to recur to the

laſt thirty years to prove this difference. In 1756 we had a full experience of the manly conduct of the Engliſh nation, when it beheld its honour wounded by the capture of the paltry iſland of Minorca. Some intervals of the period from the commencement of the year 1762, to the cloſe of the year 1766, were marked by ſtrong appearances of popular indignation againſt proceedings which were conſidered as tyrannical; and hence may we infer, without meaning to enter upon a diſquiſition concerning either the juſtice or the impropriety of their emotions, that the multitude was not deſtitute of either a quick ſenſe of ſuppoſed injury, or an impatient ſpirit of oppoſition. During the American war, the people, apparently ſunk almoſt into indifference, ſaw coolly the approaching ſeparation of one part of the empire from the other, as if, with thoughtleſs generoſity, they could have forgiven the ignorance and impolicy of thoſe ſtateſmen whoſe baneful meaſures contributed to the diviſion.

The

The riches which flowed into the kingdom from the acquiſitions made in the war of 1756, were laudably appropriated to public improvements. The lands of the kingdom were fertilized — barren heaths encloſed — the country covered with new and beautiful edifices — almoſt new cities were ingrafted upon the capital and other principal towns—canals were digged which united ſea to ſea, promoting an inland trade, and producing to thoſe parts of the kingdom (which were diſtreſſed for them) plenty of coals, lime, and other neceſſaries for uſe and improvement. Happy would it be for a people, could the diſtribution of its riches be confined within proper bounds! But ſuch were the effects of the plunder of the Eaſt in corrupting our manners, that we very ſoon made a rapid ſtride from the laudable improvements to the moſt corrupt and licentious conduct. My next letter will be upon that ſubject. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 10, 1784.

LETTER XII.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE SAME SUBJECT;

CHIEFLY UPON THE

CHANGE

WHICH THE

EAST-INDIA WEALTH

PRODUCED IN OUR MANNERS.

——— *Quid nos dura refugimus*
Ætas? Quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus? Unde manum juventus
Metu deorum continuit?

HOR.

LETTER XII.

TO ——————

THE wealth of the Indies, too generally procured by rapine, and ſpent with profuſion, gave the firſt great ſhock to our manners. When the Eaſt-India Company ceaſed to act in the ſpirit of a commercial body, and the battle of Plaſſey had laid the foundation of their ſovereignty in the Eaſt, the greater part of their ſervants acted no longer in the ſtation of traders. Formerly, confining themſelves merely to that profeſſion, they retired to England with the fruits of their labours. This was either early or late in life, according to their ideas of ſufficiency. With ſome they were very moderate. In that time of order, (the gradation of rank to the high poſt of Governor itſelf being perfectly regular)

gular) the fortunes brought home by even thoſe of the firſt power and dignity were very rarely to be called exceſſive.

But when the ſervants were taught the facile method of dethroning the ſovereigns of the country, all order was ſubverted.

It has been ſtrongly inſinuated, that when the power of appointing to the principal departments of the Government of India paſſed into another channel, the different Reſidencies in the Eaſt for the collection of the revenue, and all other places of emolument, were, in a manner, ſet up for ſale. Many (how truly, let the reader judge) concluded that the former regularity of the ſervice, affording a certainty to the ſervant to riſe to the higheſt rank, (a cuſtom, till that time, religiouſly preſerved) was laid aſide, and inferred as (being in their idea) a natural conſequence, that the principal ſervants made their bargains in one powerful quarter, and their inferior ſervants, in another, poſſeſſed of almoſt

almoſt equal efficacy; by which means (as they concluded) there was ſcarce a diſtrict in India that was not plundered without mercy. Granting, for the ſake of argument, the validity of this poſition, we might draw an imaginary picture, and repreſent ſimitars, rings, bracelets, ſtomachers, and other equally-valuable jewels, torn out of the mines in the Eaſt Indies, and brought in haſte to ornament the perſons of ſome of the moſt faſhionable and exalted members of the community in England. True it is, that, on ſome occaſions, the moſt rapid fortunes were made in an inſtant; and that when an inferior ſervant appeared, who had intereſt at home, or could in any ſhape, by his connections, render ſervice to ſome particular individuals, his fortune was certainly made. Various methods were adopted for theſe purpoſes: ſometimes by robberies committed upon the princes and people in India; ſometimes by robberies committed upon the Eaſt-India Company, and the people of England, in the ſhape of iniqui-

tous

tous contracts. For the firſt there was no ceremony uſed: for the laſt, forms were always preſerved.

It has been ſurmiſed, that, in ſome flagrant caſes relative to contracts for tranſporting produce, a ſervant, either in the civil or the military line, not according to the nature of the ſervice, but according to the purpoſes to be ſerved, offers a ſhip; that another offers guns; another ſtores; another is appointed commander; others are ſupercargoes. In many of theſe contracts this parade is ſaid to have been actually made, merely to provide for a number of favourites, there being no market exiſting that could take off the produce thus ſent to it. There it periſhes, and the charges are placed to the Company's account.

In ſuch a ſituation it muſt follow, that the poor ſervant who does his duty, but has no intereſt, and whoſe conſcience will not ſuffer him to get money in ſo profligate a man-

a manner, is left to ſtarve upon his place, without being able to pay even the expence of his living. If this be true, with what juſtice can we arraign the conduct of the Roman governors, who fleeced, with the moſt cruel tyranny, the provinces of the empire? Have we, or have we not, heard of Engliſhmen reviving the ſame tyranny over the peaceable and unhappy Indians?

If it be indiſputable that the vices of Aſia have reached England, and that a great and immediate change has taken place in our manners, it may be doubted whether the Eaſt Indians were not men of low extraction, brought up either in the camp to inſolence and plunder, or in office, to the accumulation of money by indirect practices. Such men, at a time when a very ſtrong deſire of enjoyment increaſed with the national wealth, muſt have proved dangerous intruders. In the habit of amaſſing money at pleaſure, and of ſpending it with profuſion, they muſt have ſhewn themſelves totally ignorant of

its

its value; and hence would it follow, that magnificent palaces muſt ariſe, in which taſte and ſituation were not ſo much conſulted as expence. Upon this gronnd, it were natural to obſerve, that the views of the Eaſt Indians were to diſplay their riches with oſtentation; and that for this purpoſe they made one general attack upon the nobility and gentry, and all the opulent part of the kingdom.

To purſue the image, one might remark, that whilſt they thus rivalled them in their buildings, their tables, and their dreſs, they contended with them in another favourite purſuit, the deſire of a ſeat in Parliament; that the boroughs in general were filled either with the neighbouring country gentlemen, or candidates recommended by men of rank or eſtate, who had either the property of, or great influence in, them; that theſe conteſts were generally warmly diſputed; that it often happened, that, though the Engliſhman involved his eſtate, his Eaſt-India antagoniſt

goniſt ſpent till he could ſpend no longer; and, though reduced to bankruptcy, by intereſt procured a freſh appointment, in order to procure freſh plunder.

How would an impartial writer treat this odious ſubject? Would he not ſay, that the ancient nobility and the men of rank felt themſelves much hurt at this rivalſhip of new men, whoſe only good quality conſiſted in poſſeſſing vaſt ſums of money? And thus probably would he continue his remarks: — "All thoſe diſtinc-
" tions which ſeparated them from their
" inferiors, were now in danger of being
" loſt; they, therefore, made a ſtand,
" and encountered them with their own
" expenſive weapons: but at length they
" found the conteſt too powerful for their
" eſtates to ſupport, and many ſunk under
" the burden.

" The example ſoon ſpread itſelf through
" all ranks of people, and produced very
" diſagreeable effects. Many of the gen-
" try

" try had been induced by the goodneſs of
" the roads to ſpend their winters in town.
" This ſubjected them to an increaſed ex-
" pence, and rendered them little able to
" bear any addition; yet ſuch was the in-
" fluence of this infectious diſeaſe, that
" they ruſhed headlong into every exceſs.
" Nor was the diſorder confined to the
" town only. They carried with them
" into the country the ſame taſte for ex-
" pence, exciting a dangerous emulation
" in thoſe who had hitherto the wiſdom
" to live upon their eſtates.

" As all inhabitants of warm climates
" are addicted to indolence and extrava-
" gance, it was not ſurpriſing that the
" Weſt Indies (whoſe plantations had been
" greatly increaſed ſince the peace of 1763,
" and who were now poſſeſſed of large
" incomes) ſhould eagerly embrace a man-
" ner of life ſo much adapted to their na-
" tural diſpoſitions. It was not, how-
" ever, ſo congenial to the grave body of
" merchants and traders of London, who

" yet

" yet plunged into all the vices of the
" age as far as their abilities could be
" ſtretched; many far beyond them. The
" principal towns were not long in follow-
" ing theſe dangerous precedents; and
" thus did the whole kingdom ruſh into
" diſſipation, luxury, and licentiouſneſs.

" The minds of the people being thus
" weakened, it was not a difficult matter
" to perſuade them that their duty did not
" extend beyond their own concerns; that
" an attention to the national affairs was
" an interference which did not become
" them; and that the care of the State
" ought to be left to thoſe whom the
" Court, in their wiſdom, ſhould think
" proper to appoint."

Such, were the occaſion to ariſe, would prove the remarks of an impartial, but indignant, inveſtigator; and, indeed, for their ſupport, he might, independently of their general conduct, make an unanſwerable appeal to a late advertiſement of ſome

of the principal merchants in London upon the diſmiſſion of the Portland Adminiſtration. An advertiſement of men, who, in other reſpects, have acted with a proper ſenſe of the dignity of their ſituation.—"The merchants, or traders, who think "the appointment or diſmiſſion of His "Majeſty's miniſters not a ſubject for their "interference, are acquainted that a paper "to that effect is now ready for their ſig-"natures."

I ſhall be now juſtified in adding another quotation from Cicero, written a few years after the period in which the firſt was made, ſince it is very applicable to this ſubject. He ſays to Atticus, *"*Multum "mecum municipales homines loquuntur, mul-"tum ruſticani; nihil prorſum aliud curant, "niſi agros, niſi villulas, niſi nummulos ſuos."

* I have had a good deal of talk with our townſmen, and a great deal with our country gentlemen in theſe quarters, and, take my word for it, they have no concern but about their lands, their farms, and their money.

Guthrie's Tranſlation.

—If

—If I were to give an account of the ſtate of our country, I ſhould equally ſay, I have converſed with many of our citizens, and many of our country gentlemen and farmers: they pay no regard to any thing but their eſtates, their farms, and their money.

The improvements which were carried into execution in London, and the principal towns, had been the occaſion of great additions in buildings. Originally, in London, it was partly to provide for thoſe new inhabitants who came from the country to ſpend the winter in town, and partly to afford ſome elbow room to thoſe who were confined to cloſe habitations. Convenience was then chiefly ſtudied; but, at this time, it gave place to magnificence, and houſes were built and finiſhed in the moſt expenſive taſte.

Such was the effect which the alteration of our manners had upon all ranks, that theſe ſplendid manſions were not only oc-

cupied by families from the country, but by merchants and opulent tradeſmen. The former, from making uſe of lodgings in their occaſional viſits to town, at length ſettled in houſes. Mere convenience would not, however, now ſatisfy them. The latter, who had been formerly contented with their houſes in the city, in which their families reſided, and where their buſineſs was carried on, now rented a large coſtly fabric at the weſt end of the town. The houſe in the city was turned into a compting houſe, and that commerce which, by the induſtry and knowledge of the trader, had formerly been productive of much national wealth, was now looked upon with contempt by the fine gentleman, and left to be managed by inexperienced clerks. —My next letters will be upon the ill effects which this change of manners has produced in the limited monarchy of England. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 12, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED;

PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE

INFLUENCE

WHICH THE

NEWSPAPERS

HAVE HAD IN

CORRUPTING OUR MANNERS.

Fecundæ culpæ ſecula nuptias
Primum inquenavere, et genus, et domos;
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.

HOR.

LETTER XIII.

TO ———————

A PROPER equality is neceſſary to the welfare of a republic. The diſtinction of nobility is neceſſary to the welfare of a monarchy. England is a limited monarchy; yet it partakes ſo much more of the latter than of the former government, that it is contrary to her true intereſts to ſuffer the dignity of her nobility to be degraded. A very manifeſt difference in the reſpect paid to the peerage has been ſhewn in our times. Variety of cauſes are aſſigned for this change. Many impute it to the increaſed power and riches of the commercial part of the kingdom, which, they ſay, brings the ſtate of our monarchy nearer to that of a republic. But this circumſtance, had our manners been leſs

corrupt, could have made no inroad upon the honours of nobility. The State, in general, would have been benefited, and the merchant or trader, as he grew rich, would have been converted into a country gentleman, to ſupply the places of thoſe who were obliged to ſell their eſtates to ſatisfy their creditors.

The cauſes of their preſent declenſion appear to me to be theſe: — Firſt, an ill-timed pique at the rivalſhip of ſuch obſcure men as the Eaſt Indians; which, having involved them in immenſe expences, has ſunk their eſtates, and rendered them neceſſitous and dependent; and next, ſuch frequent creations of nobles, during a ſeries of preceding years, as nearly doubled the Lords of both kingdoms, and, in conſequence, leſſened their influence and dignity in the opinion of the world.

When the nobility found themſelves worſted in the conteſt of expence, they had no longer the hope of preſerving the particular

particular diſtinctions in appearance which they formerly enjoyed; they, therefore, threw off the bandages of ſtate, and mixed with freedom in the world: they walked the ſtreets, generally wore a plain dreſs, and laid aſide, both in their own appearance and in their carriages, that ſplendour by which they had been formerly diſtinguiſhed. Their tables were frequented with greater freedom, and it was ſufficient to have the manners of a gentleman to be admitted to them.

It is pleaſant to have the privilege of entering the houſe of a man of the firſt rank without parade, with the ſame freedom of dreſs as we ſhould enter into that of an equal: even the etiquette of dreſs at dinner is now ſo much abated, that it can hardly be ſaid to be kept up even in a few of the winter months. Many, who preſerve it, act merely from a preferable deſire of ſhewing, to a fear of being thought to want, reſpect. In the moſt auguſt aſſembly which we have, the Houſe of Lords,

Lords, many of them appear in an undreſs. That Gothic ornament, the ſword, is nearly diſcarded: it is retained chiefly at Court.

The manners of the nobility have had a good effect with reſpect to dreſs, and convenience continues ſtill to ſupport it; but the nation was too far plunged into a taſte for expence in general to retain this ſimplicity in any mode of living, unleſs their convenience was particularly conſulted. The coſtlineſs of our houſes, tables, carriages, and harneſs, are greater in theſe times than ever.

As the inundation of the Eaſt-India profuſion, at a time when we had ourſelves acquired ſome habits of expence, firſt made an alteration in our manners, I conſider the newſpapers as the means by which this change was encouraged and ſupported.

About twenty-five years ago there were only three daily newſpapers in London. They

They were generally filled with foreign news and tranſactions of the country. The miſcellaneous part contained either ſtrictures on Government, or letters of amuſement. Strictures upon Government, when kept within the bounds of decency, are uſeful to a free people. The adminiſtrations of thoſe times were vigilant in their endeavours to prevent the licentiouſneſs of the preſs. Whenever any paper exceeded the limits of propriety, the author and publiſher were immediately proſecuted, and ſeldom eſcaped puniſhment.

The foreign news giving them an idea of the ſtate of public affairs on the Continent, Engliſhmen had then ſome knowledge of the politics of Europe. Country news made them acquainted with the tranſactions at home.

There are at this time nine daily papers. They certainly ought not to be ſtiled newſpapers, for they give us little or no news: they ſubſiſt upon political paragraphs, which,

which, by perplexing the mind, prevent deciſion upon public principles, rendering each party equally diſguſting — upon an abuſe of private character, deſtroying that ſenſe of reputation which preſerves appearances in the world, and mingling both the good and the bad in one maſs — and upon the propagation of vices through the kingdom, holding forth thoſe for imitation which would otherwiſe have been concealed within the circle of their commiſſion.

It has been the general experience of all ages, that a corruption of manners in the women is the prelude to the fall of a nation. We have had mournful proofs of the increaſe of this diſorder in our age; nor is there any cauſe to which it can be more juſtly attributed than to the indiſcriminate manner in which the newſpapers diſcuſs female characters. Women of reputation are abuſed and vilified. The manner in which ſuſpected characters are exhibited, generally produces an effect upon

their

their conduct which renders them no longer doubtful. Proſtitutes of diſtinction are held forth as objects of admiration. The deſcription which the newſpapers give of theſe characters excites in every proſtitute, who is not wholly abandoned, a thorough contempt of the public opinion, and a wanton deſire of throwing off all appearances, ſetting modeſty completely at defiance. Proſtitutes are evils which are by ſome deemed neceſſary in a great kingdom. If this ſhould even be the caſe, they cannot be ſuffered with too much ſilence and precaution.

Beſides, the very communication of thoſe vices in newſpapers has a tendency to produce corruption of manners even in the moſt virtuous part of the ſex. Female frailties ſometimes require the full force of education and principle to reſiſt and correct them; yet narrations are often given in the newſpapers in the moſt indecent terms. The ear of a modeſt woman, at firſt a ſtranger to them, is ſtruck by the

conſtant

conſtant repetition. They raiſe curioſity, and occaſion inquiry, till, by degrees, ſhe grows familiariſed to them. She then ſearches for thoſe ſuſpected characters of her own ſex who are moſt likely to conduce to her gratification. I will draw a veil over many unhappy women who have, in this manner, fallen a prey. Happy are thoſe who do not ſuffer their curioſity to lead them on to criminal thoughts. From thence the tranſition is ſoon made to criminal actions.

Another evil has ariſen from the general abuſe of character. Juries ſeem to have laid down a rule, that the newſpapers are now ſo infamous, that no credit can be given to them, and, therefore, that a perſon whoſe character is defamed in them, can receive no injury. This dangerous doctrine affords an unbounded licenſe to the editors of newſpapers, and gives them an unlimited ſanction of general abuſe: they are, therefore, under no reſtraint, for Government will not interfere. The

Court

Court conſiders that an univerſal licentiouſneſs in the preſs will lead to a deſire of univerſal reſtraint; but the people ought to conſider that this evil will be equally intolerable.

The converting the newſpapers from being vehicles of foreign and domeſtic intelligence into vehicles of ſcandal and abuſe, has deſtroyed that knowledge which the Engliſh formerly poſſeſſed of the ſtate of the Continent and of its politics. The people know almoſt as much of the Emperor of Japan as they do of the Emperor of Germany. The want of this political knowledge producing an indifference to the ſtate of our own affairs, and an increaſe of thoſe vices which weaken the body and debaſe the mind, has given a new turn to ſociety. Our converſations are no longer directed to manly ſubjects. Women, gaming, dreſs, faſhions, and eating and drinking, as they employ our time without doors, fill up the meaſure of our converſation within.

There

There are no ranks of people in Great Britain who do not, in ſome meaſure, participate of theſe vices. If we look to the nobility and men of diſtinction, there are very few indeed who merit our reſpect. I am ſorry to ſay that the words of Cicero are too applicable to the far greater part—
" *Quibus optimatibus dii boni? Qui nunc quo*
" *modo occurrunt quo modo autem ſe vendi-*
" *tant Cæſari* *."

But what can be expected from men whoſe higheſt joy is in the richneſs of their dreſs, the gilding of their carriages, or the gaudy trappings of their horſes; or, which forms to many a yet more exquiſite pleaſure, in ſome new diſh, or highly-ſeaſoned ſauce, whoſe reliſh they contemplate with the moſt curious and grateful attention?

To ſupport the compariſon which I have formed between the manners of Britain

* Of what quality, immortal gods! See how they flock, ſee how they ſell off themſelves to Cæſar.
Guthrie's Tranſlation.

and

and Rome, I ought to quote the words of Ammianus Marcellinus, who has left us ſome remarkable accounts of thoſe of his time; but, referring you to the paſſage itſelf, I have a pleaſure in giving you thoſe of an elegant, ſenſible, and accurate deſcriber of the manners of our days, which equally reſpects this ſubject. The amiable writer, in her Evelina, has the following words: "After this, the converſation "turned wholly upon eating, a ſubject "which was diſcuſſed with the utmoſt "delight; and had I not known that they "were men of rank and faſhion, I ſhould "have imagined that they had all been "profeſſed cooks; for they diſplayed ſo "much knowledge of ſauces and made "diſhes, and of the various methods of "dreſſing the ſame things, that I am "perſuaded they muſt have given much "time and much ſtudy to make themſelves ſuch adepts in the art."

The loſſes which we ſuſtained during the war were the leſſons of adverſity,

which it was our duty to make profitable to us; but our hearts have been callous, and we have no ſenſe of proper feeling. They have produced no other effects in us than abſurd ideas of impotent and unmanly reſentment. To debaſement of manners we have added its natural conſequence, ſervility of mind. Inſtead of entering with manly reſolution into the ſtate of our affairs, and uſing our beſt endeavours to retrieve them, we wilfully ſhut our eyes to the truth. We continue bewildered in that labyrinth of errors which has already involved us in great difficulties; and if we do not ſpeedily find ſome clue to get out, will ultimately terminate in our ruin. "*Quam Deus vult perdere, "prius dementat.*" The God of heaven is diſpleaſed with us, and has withdrawn from us his gracious protection. He leaves us to periſh by our own wicked and fooliſh deſires.

Our commerce becomes every day more precarious: its ſituation at all times, even in

in the days of our proſperity, was ſubject to riſque. In ancient times the merchant traded on his own capital; but ſuch has been the great increaſe of navigation, that he trades now upon the capital of others. Commerce, therefore, in ſome meaſure, becomes a gambling adventure, depending wholly upon the ſkill of the merchant in his calculation of the chances of the markets to which he ſends his goods. In this he has ſo much competition, that individuals frequently ſuffer great loſſes, and often are ruined in the conteſt. Conſidering this in a view of national profit, which has a regard only to the benefits accruing from the capital employed by the whole, and not by the individual, the ſufferings of the latter do not appear to be of any great conſequence to the public: but this is only a partial view. We ſhall find, on more mature reflection, that too much of this ſpirit of adventurous gambling has a dangerous effect upon the manners of a people.

At this time the national loſſes have fallen very heavily upon the merchants and traders; yet, in the expence of their tables, their houſes, their ſervants, and their equipages, we ſee no difference. The national trade is decreaſed, is diſordered, and is become very uncertain. The expences of the trader, on the contrary, have not decreaſed, but are regular and certain. As theſe are continued, without any apparent fund of profit from their trade to ſupport them, we muſt naturally conclude, that they live merely upon the hope of the next year's being better than the laſt; but, at their rate of living, even this hope muſt at laſt forſake them, and ruin occupy its place.

If we take a view of the kingdom in general, we ſhall find that a very great proportion of its people exceed their income. By theſe means they contract debts, which become a heavy burden not only upon themſelves, but upon the public: for the private debts of individuals have, equally

equally with thoſe of the public, been the only cauſe of both the origin and increaſe of the monied intereſt in the kingdom. This intereſt, as I have already taken notice, neither bears its proper ſhare either of the labour of, or of the burdens impoſed upon, the people. It is, in fact, a dead weight upon the community at large. It is true that they pay to the taxes laid upon their conſumption, but this is bearing a very ſmall part of the public burdens. They pay no taxes for their mortgages, bonds, the public funds, or other ſecurities, of which their eſtates are alone compoſed. From theſe they receive an income clear of deductions.

This monied intereſt, which lives upon the community, is now in poſſeſſion, by mortgage, of immenſe tracts of lands, of houſes, and of vaſt quantities of goods and other moveables. Moſt of the debts, for which theſe ſecurities have been given, can never be paid; the ſtate of the kingdom will not admit it: nor is there any other

poſſible means of wiping them off than by ſome kind of compoſition. If the nation is thrown into that confuſion, which is too much to be feared, this circumſtance will probably happen. In times of trouble, deſperate diſeaſes are generally cured by deſperate remedies. When the citizens of Rome were involved in a ſimilar confuſion, and the civil war of Rome had cauſed a great revolution in property, Cæſar, in his dictatorſhip, ordered that arbitrators ſhould be appointed, who ſhould value property at the rate which it ſold at before the war*.—I ſhall conclude this ſubject in my next letter.—Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 15, 1784.

* *Quum fides tota Italia eſſet anguſtior, neque creditæ pecuniæ ſolverentur; conſtituit ut arbitri darentur: per eos fierent æſtimationes poſſeſſionum, et rerum, quanti quæque carum ante bellum fuiſſent.*

CÆS. *de Bello civili.*

LETTER XIV.

THE SUBJECT CONCLUDED:

THE

MANNERS

OF

ROME AND LONDON

COMPARED,

AND THE

DANGER SHEWN TO WHICH THE LATTER IS EXPOSED.

Conculcari, inquam, miseram Italiam videbis.

CIC. *ad* ATT.

LETTER XIV.

TO ——————

THE prayer of Agur:—"Give me "neither poverty nor riches; feed me "with food convenient for me, leſt I be "rich, and ſay, Who is the Lord? or "leſt I be poor and ſteal, and take the "name of the Lord in vain." This prayer ought fervently to be repeated by the Britiſh nation in this time of diſtreſs, when corruption of manners has deſtroyed both private and public virtue. It was the loſs of virtue which precipitated us into a war with our fellow ſubjects, of which the produce alone has been poverty and diſeaſe of mind. The people are become poor and ſteal, and take the name of the Lord in vain. They ſpend the preſent hours in an expenſive and thoughtleſs manner, wholly

wholly uncertain what the next may produce: and ſuch are the numbers of all ranks and profeſſions who live in this ſtile, keeping each other in countenance; and ſo familiariſed are they to the want of means to ſupply their expences, that all ſenſe of ſhame is entirely done away.

If poverty made the nation humble, if, by adverſity, it had been taught wiſdom, and to look forward to the fruits of induſtry alone, as the moſt certain means of reſtoration to wealth, it would then be a moſt uſeful monitor; but when, as in the preſent ſtate of our manners, it takes away the ſenſe of ſhame—when thoſe who cannot pay in money for the luxuries which they enjoy, procure them upon truſt—when the little which, perchance, is obtained, is put to the hazard at the gaming table, the common reſort of ſuch, and (I ſpeak it with regret) of better men—when a great and general diſtreſs prevails among the whole people, there can be but one termination to it; this is public confuſion.

It was a misfortune attendant upon a perſon, whoſe chief expectation ariſes from appointment to office, that ſo long as he moves within the circle of his party, he muſt follow both their manners and their fortune, in or out of place; for if he ſhould quit the ſphere of action, he quits all hope of proviſion for himſelf.

Were a government, on the one hand, to become ſo corrupt as to conſider the worth or abilities of a perſon who fills a ſtation under it of no avail, when put in competition with party, whether his ſucceſſor be capable or not of adminiſtering the duties of office; or, on the other hand, were his own friends to live in a ſtile which his prudence and his virtue forbade him to follow, it muſt prove incumbent upon him to reflect ſeriouſly upon his condition. He muſt, in this examination, be convinced that he would act much more nobly in retiring from ſuch a diſhonourable and dependent ſituation.

I have

I have already remarked, that the former age was diſtinguiſhed by the poſſeſſion of plate, and other family riches, of great intrinſic worth. The preſent age is more remarkable for a ſplendid appearance than for real and ſolid value. One kind of dreſs is now common to almoſt all ranks. The manufacturers have, therefore, accommodated themſelves to it, by making cheap ſhewy ſilks and linens, which, inſtead of being tranſmitted, as formerly, to our poſterity, is now little more than the conſumption of the day.

The ſame principles have operated with reſpect to the more valuable ornaments, ſilver plate. There may be more houſes at preſent who poſſeſs a ſideboard of plate than there were formerly; but plate itſelf is now not only made much more ſlight, but is frequently merely plated. The actual value, therefore, is much leſs in this age than the laſt.

Beſides,

Beſides, there are other inconveniences attending it. A ſlight piece of plate diminiſhes from wearing much more in value than a heavy one; and as the price paid for the labour in making it is equal to the heavy price, the loſs is much greater.

On the other hand, it will be ſaid, that there is ſome compenſation from the increaſed charge of the labour, the artiſt being a uſeful perſon in the community. The greater, therefore, the demand, the greater number of artiſts muſt be employed. Silver-plated veſſels, however, which are now much uſed, are not compenſated by even the employment of a greater number of artiſts. I have remarked in another place, that the ſilver uſed in this manufacture is a heavy national loſs.

There are other expences common to this age, which were either unknown to the laſt, or happened but rarely, either to

a few

a few perſons, or on particular occaſions. Theſe are expenſive decorations in plaiſter, gilding, and carving of houſes and carriages, as well as places of public entertainment. There is alſo, in our times, a much greater change in the table. Our eating formerly, though equally plentiful, was much plainer and cheaper. To theſe I ſhall add, as an intolerable grievance in the preſent age, the load of uſeleſs livery ſervants. Theſe are a perpetual trouble, and leave no trace behind them but of waſteful expence. I cannot be underſtood to ſpeak of the manner of life of the nobility and men of diſtinction. This was always coſtly, and ſervants are a part of their dignity. I mean the kingdom in general.

Having enlarged ſo much upon our expence, and our manners, I ſhall now attempt to deſcribe the apparent and real fruits which, in theſe latter times, they have produced.

A deſcrip-

A deſcription of our riches is a glorious, but dangerous, exhibition. The grandeur of our plate, the ſparkling of our jewels, the gaudy ſhow of our equipages, the ſilver decorations of our horſes, the ſplendour of our public places, our highly-finiſhed and coſtly houſes, and the luxurious elegance of our tables, all proclaim the magnificence of the ſubjects of Britain. The buſtle in our ſtreets, the abundance of our wealth, and the taſte with which it is diſplayed in our ſhops, muſt ſtrike a ſtranger with aſtoniſhment: and ſhould he enter into the houſes of the middling ſort of people, he muſt view with equal admiration the apparently rich ſideboard of plate, the beautiful furniture, and the plentiful and expenſive diſhes which ſmoke upon the table. The whole is attended with an enjoyment of comfort unknown to other countries.

This magnificence and this appearance of comfort ſtill remain, notwithſtanding all that we have ſuffered: and, in point of

ſhew,

ſhow, they even exceed thoſe times in which the wealth of nations poured in upon us, and enabled us to purchaſe them. Strangers, therefore, who only view the general ſituation of the Engliſh, pronounce them to be the richeſt and happieſt people in the univerſe; but thoſe who have a more perfect knowledge of the country, who are acquainted with the ſprings of the Government, the extent of its revenues, and the preſent actual reſources of the State, find all theſe appearances to be merely ſuperficial. They are made by the gentleman upon the ſtrength of an eſtate, the greater part of which is already ſeized upon by the mercileſs fangs of the monied man. They are made by the merchants and tradeſmen upon the ſtrength of the debts due to them upon their books, the far greater part of which will for ever remain there.

England has been a rich and happy country. She is capable of affording the higheſt enjoyments: but, alas! ſhe was not

not ſenſible of the excellence of her condition. Like a froward child, ſhe has been ſpoiled by indulgence: a ſelf-devoted ſacrifice to her pride and ill humour, ſhe has been herſelf the murderer of her reputation, the murderer of her peace.

Theſe are the natural conſequences of luxury. Increaſing the deſires of a people, they make them leſs ſcrupulous of obtaining them. The ſoldier, who had been plundered of his money, fought bravely, and received from his General praiſe and reward; but the recovery of his money gave him other deſires than thoſe which had animated him to action. The glory of his country was no longer his object; and when a poſt of danger was aſſigned him, he replied, "General, I "have found my purſe."

This great and aſtoniſhing diſplay of wealth recals ſtrongly to our recollection the latter-days of ancient Rome. There is, however, this difference between us

and that famous people: the character of the Romans was more ſanguinary than the modern Europeans; their mode of life yet more diſſolute. This ſanguinary temper aroſe not only from the ſpirit of conqueſt which familiariſed their citizens to ſcenes of blood, but from their having no other attendants on their perſons, or labourers upon their lands, than ſlaves, which made their habits of life harſh and auſtere. Their diſſolute manners were occaſioned by the poſſeſſion of vaſt dominions, comprehending almoſt the whole of the then known world, which contained all kinds of abundant productions that could amuſe the eye, gratify the ear, or indulge the taſte. Theſe, as the inhabitants of the provinces were kept in a ſtate of ſevere ſubjection, filled Rome with every ſpecies of luxury, producing an unbounded licentiouſneſs too powerful for the laws to reſtrain.

Inattentive as we are to the duties which our religion inculcates, the mildneſs of Chriſtianity

Chriſtianity has at length aboliſhed theſe harſh and ſanguinary cuſtoms, and has produced habits amongſt us which render us leſs corrupt in our manners, and leſs cruel in our diſpoſitions. Theſe habits having been thus effected, ſlavery has been generally aboliſhed in Europe, the rigour of war has been ſoftened, the communication between nation and nation made eaſy, and our manners in general conſequently more ſocial.

I may perhaps be charged with miſrepreſentation when I ſpeak of the abolition of ſlavery, and that this great and beneficial change in our manners has been effected by Chriſtianity, ſince there are Chriſtians who are ſtill in the practice of this horrid cuſtom. I can only ſay I am ſorry that there are ſuch. But I did not mean to miſrepreſent: I ſpoke generally of the Chriſtians of Europe. I ſhould feel the higheſt gratification could I ſay the ſame of the Chriſtians of America.

But though the Chriſtians of our days have arrived at a high pitch of luxury by more gentle means than the Romans, chiefly by thoſe of commerce, yet our inordinate deſires, our unbridled licentiouſneſs, have been introduced in the ſame manner, and upon the ſame principles. The provinces from whence the luxuries of Rome were brought groaned under their government. The Eaſt Indies, from whence our luxuries have ariſen, groan under a Chriſtian, and that of a Britiſh government. The right to each is founded upon the ſame ground, that of conqueſt: not merely of conqueſt; there might then have been ſome humanity, but of ferocious conqueſt.

Whatever was the cauſe, nearly the ſame effects have been produced. London is now in the ſame ſituation with reſpect to her defence, as Rome was at the time of her fall. In deſcribing the one, I very nearly deſcribe the other.

In the days of her virtue every man in Rome was capable of fighting for his country. In the days of her fall, ſhe had been ſo long unaccuſtomed to the uſe of arms, that ſhe was incapable of wielding a ſword in her defence: ſhe had no army to protect her, nor any means of converting her riches into ſwords and ſpears; nor, had that been in her power, of finding, in the immenſe multitude of her people, men to uſe them.

Thus did the eternal city, the queen of nations, the miſtreſs of the world, twice fall, within a few years, into the hands of the barbarians. Alaric and Genſeric, with their ſavage hoſts, entered the unhappy city. What eſcaped the Goth, in the immenſity of the ſpoils, was plundered by the Vandal. Her citizens were maſſacred, were led captive, were wanderers through the earth. Thoſe rich and powerful lords of the univerſe, whoſe ſenate had been compared to an aſſembly of kings, were now become illuſtrious beggars for food

and raiment. The precious gems, the veſſels of gold and ſilver, the curious pieces of art and mechaniſm, the fruits of a long peace, were diſſipated by barbarian hands, incapable of taſting ſuch refined enjoyments. Her majeſtic edifices were ſhaken to their foundations.

Barbarus heu cineres inſiſtet victor, et urbem
Eques ſonante verberavit ungula ;
Quæque carent ventis et ſolibus oſſa quirini
(Nefas videre) diſſipabit inſolens *.

The ſimilarity of ſituation, at leaſt in many points of view, has been the cauſe of my dwelling thus long upon this dreadful part of the hiſtory of Rome, and of my applying theſe prophetical words of the philoſophic poet to our own coun-

* And fell barbarians, wanton with ſucceſs,
Scatter our city's flaming ruins wide,
Or thro' the ſtreets in vengeful triumph ride,
And her great founders' hallowed aſhes ſpurn,
That ſleep uninjur'd in their ſacred urn !

Francis's Horace.

try.

try. I have more particularly applied it, as the remaining part of this beautiful ode relates to my next ſubject — that of emigration. He has predicted this deſtruction by the ſtriking picture of the barbarians trampling upon her aſhes, and the horſemen ſmiting it with the ſounding hoof, inſultingly diſperſing thoſe ſacred monuments of her anceſtors in a manner dreadful to be ſeen.

The recollection of the terrible effects of riots and conflagrations in the year 1780, muſt ſurely make us ſeriouſly reflect upon the danger to which the great city of London is expoſed — if not to foreign and barbarous, at leaſt to domeſtic and civil, commotions. The vaſt body of the citizens were then incapable of defending her againſt an unarmed banditti. The citizens of London, in our times, have acquired, by luxury, the ſame indolent habits into which the citizens of Rome, in her latter days, were plunged. Feebleneſs of mind produces feebleneſs of

body. In the year 1780, they did not appear to have the power of action. Had not the military arrived at the very inſtant in which their fate ſeemed to be ſuſpended in a doubtful balance, the great and opulent city of London would moſt probably have been plundered and deſtroyed: a devaſtation which, like that of Rome, would have filled the world with horror and apprehenſion.—Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 15, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

UPON

EMIGRATION.

Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

HOR.

LETTER XV.

TO ——————

IN the words of the ſame affecting ode which I mentioned in my laſt letter, and which the prophetic poet addreſſed to his countrymen, I admoniſh mine of their danger. I would tell thoſe who deſire information, the way to eſcape the dreadful evils which await them.

Forte quod expediat, communiter, aut melior
pars,
Multis carere quæritis laboribus *.

The remedy is emigration. The road, America.

* But ſome, perhaps, to ſhun the riſing ſhame,
(Which heaven approve) would by ſome happier
ſcheme —— *Francis's Horace.*

Nulla

Nulla ſic hac potior ſententia *.

In the ſame language I aſk them, Is this a ſatisfactory remedy; or, Hath any one a better to propoſe? Delay not, then, to embrace the proſperous gale. But,

Sic placet? An melius quis habet ſuadere?
Secunda
Ratem occupare quid moramur alite?
——————— *eamus omnis civitas,*
Aut pars indocile melior grege: mollis et
expes
Inominata perprimat cubilia.
Vos quibus eſt virtus muliebrem tollite luctum
Etruſca præter et volate litora †.

* There is no plan preferable to this. *Tranſ.*

† ——— Thus let the brave and wiſe,
Whoſe ſouls above th' indocile vulgar riſe;
Then let the crowd, who dare not hope ſucceſs,
Inglorious, theſe ill-omen'd ſeats poſſeſs:
But ye, whom virtue warns, indulge no more
Theſe female plaints, but quit this fated ſhore.
Francis's Horace.

In

I deſign to throw together ſome reflections upon the ſubject, which, in thoſe parts that relate to the ſoil and climate of America, will be founded on the knowledge which I have obtained from others. When I arrive there, I ſhall be able to make myſelf practically acquainted with every neceſſary information. I would leave this letter till that period, were there not many people in England, who, being now very uneaſy in their ſituation, and foreſeeing great diſtreſs, are deſirous of making preparations for quitting it. To theſe, the information which I can now give may be uſeful. I ſhall make no aſſertion that has not the moſt ſolid grounds to ſupport it.

We have been lately favoured with an excellent little treatiſe upon the ſubject of emigration, from the pen of the venerable Dr. Franklin. He treats this ſubject with a ſimplicity which muſt make it clearly underſtood by the meaneſt reader. His intentions were to put an end to the popular

deluſion,

deluſion, that America is a land flowing with milk and honey; in which the indulgencies of life are profuſely diſtributed to every idle perſon who will be at the pains to ſettle there. America is really a land flowing with milk and honey; but it can only be gathered by the hand of the induſtrious. Emigrants muſt either have money of their own, or they muſt labour for others till they have obtained a ſufficiency to ſettle a farm for themſelves. In many parts of America the neceſſaries of life coſt very little; and induſtry (hard labour is not neceſſary) will ſoon procure the comforts.

The man who brings with him ſufficient money to ſettle a farm, does this with leſs pains, becauſe he employs the poor emigrant to labour for him. The providence of God has proportioned our wants to our abilities. The voluptuouſneſs with which the rich man has indulged himſelf in Europe renders him leſs able perſonally to encounter the difficulties

ties of a new ſettlement. The mind of the poor man being fitted to his ſtation, bears patiently the labours which are allotted him, and works hard in the ſettlement, in the hope of earning money to ſet up for himſelf.

Both intereſt and humanity make it the univerſal practice of the farmers in America to treat their hired ſervants with kindneſs: they live nearly in the ſame manner as their maſters; and there are few inſtances (when they happen, it is wholly owing to the idleneſs of the ſervant) in which they do not become maſters themſelves.

There are three principal points in view, to which the attention of thoſe who are deſirous of emigrating to America ought to be directed. Theſe are, the ſituation of the ſtate beſt adapted to this purpoſe — the occupation to be followed in it — and the adoption of ſome regular plan of emigration; in which the intentions, diſpoſi-

tions,

tions, and abilities of the perſons propoſing to form it are conſulted, connected, and well combined. I ſhall conſider theſe points diſtinctly.

It requires an examination of the ſeveral ſituations in America, to be correct in pointing out the moſt advantageous one for a ſettlement. The war has produced great alterations in that country. There are, however, general principles, which will anſwer the purpoſes that I have in view. Theſe will afford ſufficient information to thoſe perſons in Great Britain who are deſirous of emigrating to America; at leaſt, ſuch as will enable them to adopt ſome plan of aſſociation; providing in this manner, by a wiſe and timely precaution, for the proper ſeaſon when it may be neceſſary for them to put their plan in execution.

The end and deſign of emigration to America can only be the improvement of their condition. Thoſe who will chiefly

emigrate

emigrate will be men of impaired or broken fortunes: amongſt theſe there will be men of various deſcriptions. Thoſe of merely uſeful handicraft trades may find employment in the towns. Theſe, increaſing continually in inhabitants, will be always in want of them. Thoſe who have been merchants and traders, and who have preſerved ſome wrecks of their fortune ſufficient to induce them to make another attempt, will probably do it to advantage in the ſea ports, which have grown rich and populous by the commercial ſpirit of their inhabitants. Others, on the contrary, will be more diſpoſed to make ſettlements in the country, in ſome ſtate where there is great plenty of vacant lands, where the ſoil is fertile, and the climate good.

I premiſe that I am not writing to men who have a ſufficient fortune to live upon the income which it produces. Theſe require no advice, as they may ſpend this income ſatisfactorily in almoſt any ſettled country. They may do it in London,

Newcaſtle, Glaſgow, Liverpool, or Briſtol: they may do it in Boſton, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Charles Town, the great ſea ports of America; and with more advantage, as theſe towns being in a ſtate of increaſe, money may be diſpoſed of with greater ſecurity and profit by employing it in ground rents and ſimilar ſecurities.

The perſons in Great Britain deſirous of forming a plan of emigration, to whom I deſire chiefly to addreſs myſelf, are thoſe who are either maſters of property ſufficient to ſettle a tolerable eſtate in a new country, or ſuch who, having no property of their own, muſt labour for the others in ſome ſhape or other. The latter may be divided into two claſſes: the one of thoſe, who, having been labourers in their own country, muſt continue in that ſtation; the other, of men of education, who muſt ſupply the want of money by induſtry and abilities.

I have

I have taken notice already of the employments which emigrants will find in the great towns. I have confined them merely to commerce, and uſeful handicraft trades. The luxury which now prevails in theſe towns occaſioning a greater expence in living than is proper for them, will probably be made uſe of as an objection to this opinion. But, independently of ſuch men receiving wages in proportion, this luxury is merely temporary, being occaſioned by accidental circumſtances produced by the war. The inhabitants of theſe places will naturally return to their primitive manners whenever theſe cauſes ceaſe. This a ſhort time muſt accompliſh.

War, which is one principal cauſe of the preſent luxurious and expenſive ſtile of living in America, is a great enemy to regularity of manners. The viciſſitudes to which every country is ſubject in civil diſputes are ſudden and frequent. Scarcity and plenty are alternately produced. The government of a country in ſuch a

ſituation muſt be unequal. Whenever a temporary diſtreſs prevails, there is a neceſſity to make the adminiſtration rigid and ſevere. When theſe difficulties are ſurmounted, it becomes looſe and relaxed.

When the danger is wholly at an end, a general relaxation of government and corruption of manners almoſt conſtantly take place. The firſt families, who act upon principle, are either ruined, or their eſtates greatly injured in the conteſt; and new men, acquiring fortune by ſudden and unexpected events, riſe upon their ruin. Theſe people, who, in this manner, riſe to affluence, are always profuſe of money which they have gained with eaſe. The old families which remain (ſuch is our natural propenſity to imitate vicious manners, and even to carry them to exceſs, where our pride is attacked) follow their example. One cauſe is common to all. The diſtreſs and ſcarcity occaſioned by the war gave place to eaſe and plenty at the return of peace. Mankind uſually go from

from one extreme to another. The Americans have ſuffered unparallelled diſtreſs. They now plunge into (I am to be underſtood both locally and comparatively) unparallelled luxury.

They are indebted to the French for many parts of their luxuries. Simplicity of manners in the American republics neither ſuited the diſpoſition of that nation, nor afforded them the probability of preſerving ſo powerful an influence over theſe new ſtates. The French carried their views ſtill farther. By means of dreſs, equipage, and the pleaſures of the table, temptations which are ſure to captivate young men, they endeavoured to attach the riſing generation to the intereſts of France. There was great policy in this conduct.

The manners of an abſolute government, and thoſe of a republic, where the ſyſtem of each is ſtrictly preſerved, are very oppoſite to each other. The honours

of a Court form the manners of a kingdom; the ſeverity of virtue, thoſe of a republic. Luxury, therefore, may be permitted in an abſolute monarchy, without injury, whilſt the introduction of it into a commonwealth will terminate in its deſtruction. The effect which it produces in a free ſtate is to alienate the people from the love of their country, directing their views ſolely to their own particular intereſts and pleaſures. The Americans were under the higheſt obligations to France for her interpoſition in their favour; but they are not under the neceſſity of ſhewing their ſenſe of this obligation by following the manners and cuſtoms of a kingdom unſuitable to their diſpoſitions, and deſtructive to their intereſts.

It is very fortunate for the American republics that they have not ſufficient reſources within themſelves to ſupport the expence of European luxuries. There is not only a very heavy national debt due from the United States, but a conſiderable

one

one from the ſeparate governments. The private debts of individuals, contracted both before and ſince the war, are alſo of magnitude. A very long ſpace of time, and the moſt unremitting induſtry, are requiſite even to reduce theſe burdens. To diſcharge them wholly, is not within the power of ſome of the ſtates. Long credit in trade is an evil which will work its own cure as ſoon as the ill effects of it are found in the deficiencies of payment. Luxury will then, in a great meaſure, ceaſe with it. There will be no money to purchaſe ſuperfluities, and they will not be obtained without it.

At preſent, neither trade nor manners have found their proper ſtandard. A ſpirit of adventure has been prevalent ſince the peace, which cannot fail of being ruinous. The importation of goods has been immenſe, and is attended with very heavy loſſes. It is true that theſe loſſes will only affect individuals, and that the ſtate will be benefited; for the ſupplies

having been, for many years, hazardous and uncertain, the country was in great want of goods. The introduction, therefore, of ſuch quantities into all parts of the vaſt continent of America, cannot fail of advantageous effects to the people at large. But though this event will be productive of good in the end, yet the ſufferings of the mercantile intereſt, and the blow which credit will ſuſtain, muſt make it ſeverely felt in the operation.

The effects, however, will be much leſs ſevere in theſe ſtates than in the ſettled governments in Europe. Such riſing commercial republics as the United States will recover with eaſe from the ſhock.

It may be objected to me, that I have digreſſed too much in the conſideration of this ſubject; but the luxuries of the great towns in America have been repreſented in ſuch a manner in Europe as to alarm thoſe who are deſirous of emigrating to the United States. Many have ſuppoſed themſelves

themſelves in greater danger of having their reduced fortunes wholly ſunk in expences, than in receiving ſufficient advantages to enable them, by induſtry, to repair them. I, therefore, thought this explanation neceſſary. — My next letter will treat of thoſe countries which are moſt advantageous for a ſettlement. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 20, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

THE

SUBJECT OF EMIGRATION

CONTINUED;

PARTICULARLY

WITH RESPECT TO SITUATION.

Tibur Argæo positum colona,
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ,
Sit modus lasso maris et viarum,
Militiæque ———
Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes,
Angulus ridet; ———
Ille te mecum locus, et beatæ
Postulant arces ———

HOR.

LETTER XVI.

TO ——————

THE following general principle may be laid down with reſpect to the fixing upon a ſituation in America for new ſettlements: that the farther they are removed from the ſea coaſts, the more profitable will be the eſtabliſhment, from the ſuperiority both of ſoil and climate. The coaſts were firſt ſettled on account of their eaſy communication with Europe; but they are (thoſe of New England alone excepted) the worſt lands and the moſt unhealthy climate in all the ſtates.

The interior parts of America afford the faireſt proſpect of advantage to ſettlers. Theſe, which were increaſing in a wonderful degree before the war, received a

ſevere

ſevere ſhock from its calamities; yet a few years of peace will (it is aſtoniſhing how ſoon a country recovers the ravage of war) reſtore theſe ruined ſettlements, and fill them with a new people.

The ſtates of New York and Pennſylvania have large tracts of fertile land, extending to the lakes, proper for the forming ſettlements, and very capital ones have already been made. The climate, though ſeverely cold in winter, is very healthy; and as the inhabitants increaſe in number, it will in courſe become, by degrees, more temperate. This country will, in future, prove one of the moſt advantageous commercial ſituations in America, having, in a manner, the key of Canada, and of all the northern Indian trade. It has a direct communication with the Atlantic by the Hudſon and other conſiderable rivers. This navigation, extending from the weſtern ſea to the lakes, has no other obſtruction than by ſmall portages, which, in time, will be converted

converted into canals. The valuable trade of furs will chiefly center in this country.

The ſeverity of the climate in the winter, the vicinity of many tribes of Indians, who have an eaſy approach to this part of the country, and the certainty of its being made the principal ſeat of war, (ſhould any diſpute ariſe between the United States and Great Britain) will be the means of forming the people to habits of diligence and activity. The Britiſh, at ſuch times, would in all probability annoy them from Canada in the ſame manner as the French formerly did before the war of 1756.

As nothing conduces more to the force and vigour of a nation than putting it upon its guard, and keeping it in a conſtant ſtate of alarm, the inhabitants will probably be a hardy, brave, and induſtrious race. The country will be full of large towns and ſettlements, and they muſt be in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable naval force upon the lakes to facilitate

and

and ſupport their great and extenſive commerce.

This part, therefore, of the interior countries of theſe ſtates has all the appearance of becoming the moſt warlike and powerful, whilſt the interior parts of Virginia and the Carolinas will poſſeſs the domeſtic ſatisfactions which ariſe from continual peace.

Theſe parts of Virginia and the Carolinas are the paradiſe of America. The climate is temperate and ſerene, ſubject neither to the exceſs of the ſummer heats nor to the ſeverity of the winter cold. The ſoil fertile, full of rich and pleaſant vallies, finely wooded, and watered by continual ſprings. The meadows produce graſs for the maintenance of cattle during the winter, and the lands even bring forth, without culture, ſeveral ſpecies of grain and fruits. The different kind of game and poultry are abundant. Wine, oil, and fruits, the products of the fineſt countries

of

of Europe and Aſia, may be cultivated with equal facility in theſe happy regions. Producing an exuberance of food, they afford the equal comforts of raiment, by poſſeſſing materials from which garments of ſilk, cotton, and linen may, in time, as the country ſettles, with eaſe be procured.

Theſe beautiful, extenſive, and fruitful countries have, therefore, every advantage that can be derived from goodneſs of climate and fertility of ſoil. If they have not thoſe rougher properties which form the hardy and warlike ſoldier, they have thoſe infinitely-preferable qualities which conſtitute the quiet and peaceful citizen. Agriculture is an employment which produces the moſt ſalubrious effects both of mind and body; but there are yet objects for the moſt active mind. The country is finely ſituated for navigation. Immenſe bodies of water flow through it from the mountains to the weſtern ocean; and there

being (as I have obſerved in another place) no other obſtructions than ſmall portages, canals will be cut, and commerce and navigation become a conſiderable object.

In the inland country of Virginia and North Carolina the ſettlements, in many parts, extend to the mountains. In the eaſtern part of Virginia, ſettlements have been made in the mountains themſelves, where ſome induſtrious Germans, who found the lands in the vallies taken up, have eſtabliſhed conſiderable plantations; there is, therefore, no room for new ſettlers. But in the interior parts of South Carolina, which made a very rapid increaſe of inhabitants from the peace of 1762 to the late war, are yet vaſt tracts of fertile lands unſettled; and it has this peculiar advantage, that although the whole of theſe countries (the more northern part in courſe approaches neareſt to that of the back country of Pennſylvania) has a fine climate,

climate, yet the Carolinas being more to the ſouth, a ſtill higher degree of delightful temperature is to be found there.

The ſtate of Virginia poſſeſſing lands on the other ſide of the mountains, and having the more immediate communication with the country on the river Ohio, many thouſands have paſſed over them and ſettled themſelves in that tract which lies between the mountains and the river. It is ſaid that ſome emigrants have even croſſed that river, and ſettled in the country bordering upon the lakes.

By a late ſettlement, the country to the ſouthward of the Ohio is included in the ſtate of Virginia. All the country to the northward of this great river, extending from Pennſylvania on the eaſt, the lakes on the north, and the Miſſiſſippi on the weſt, are intended to be divided by Congreſs into ten new ſtates — Waſhington, Cherſoneſus, Metropotamia, Saratoga,

Peſilipa, Sylvania, Michigania, Aſſenipi, Illinoia, and Polypotamia.

Theſe ten ſtates, ſpreading over an immenſe tract of land, are traverſed by the great river Ohio in a courſe of twelve hundred miles, receiving into its waters the innumerable rivers which are ſcattered over the whole country. On the north they are bounded by the five great lakes, Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, which empty themſelves into the river St. Lawrence. On the eaſt they have the ſtates of New York, Pennſylvania, and Virginia, whoſe navigation, as well as the St. Lawrence, afford them a direct communication with the Atlantic Ocean. On the ſouth they are partly bounded by the mountains; and on the weſt by the vaſt river Miſſiſſippi, whoſe ſource is unknown, and which, after flowing through the great continent of America, admitting into its ſwelling waves the tributes of a thouſand waters, falls into the gulph of Mexico.

All

All the parts of this great country, whether by rivers which fall into the lakes on the one ſide, or on the other into the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, or by thoſe which join by ſmall portages with the rivers of Virginia and the neighbouring ſtates, finally connecting the Atlantic with the whole body of the weſtern waters by means of the St. Lawrence, the Hudſon, the bays of Delaware and Cheſapeak, and the rivers of the Carolinas, afford a water communication unknown to any other part of the globe.

The countries which I have deſcribed, firſt thoſe on this ſide of the mountains within the preſent ſettled ſtates, and as theſe become well peopled, the lands on the Ohio were the regions which I had in view when I quoted the ode of the philoſophic poet in the beginning of this letter. Referring the remaining part of this ſubject of emigration to my next letters, I ſhall now conclude by following the path

which is there ſo beautifully pointed out to us, and, in his animated ſpirit, call out to my countrymen, " Theſe are the fortu-
" nate plains, where the untilled land
" produces corn, and the unpruned vine
" yields its nectarious juice; where the
" fertile olive bloſſoms, and the purple
" fig adorns its native tree. Honey diſtils
" from the oaks, and the high mountains
" pour forth their waters with a murmur-
" ing rill. The friendly flocks preſent,
" unſought, their full udders, and wan-
" der through the luxuriant meadows un-
" moleſted by ravenous beaſts: and many
" more things ſhall we, happy Engliſh-
" men, view with admiration, the rainy
" winds neither injuring the grain with
" too much moiſture, nor a dry ſoil burn-
" ing it up, a temperate climate modera-
" ting both extremes. No contagious
" diſtempers hurt either the inhabitants
" or their flocks, the ſcorching ſun or
" freezing cold being alike unknown to
" theſe benign lands. Providence has aſ-
" ſigned

" ſigned to us theſe fortunate plains for a
" place of refuge from the vices which
" have polluted our native ſhores; from
" whence there ſhall be a happy eſcape
" for every good and virtuous man."

——————— *arva, beata*
Petamus arva, divites et inſulas,
Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis,
Et imputata floret uſque vinea:
Germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivæ;
Suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem;
Mella cava manant ex ilice; montibus altis
Levis crepante lympha deſilit pede,
Illic injuſſæ veniunt ad mulctra capellæ,
Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera;
Nec veſpertinus circumgemit urſus ovile,
Nec intumeſcit alta viperis humus;
Aquoſus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
Pinguia nec ſiccis urantus ſemina glebis;
Utrumque rege temperante coelitum.

Nulla nocent pecori contagia; nullius aſtri
Gregem aeſtuoſa torret impotentia.
Jupiter illa pix ſecrevit litora genti;
Ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;

Aere, dehinc ferro duravit ſecula; quorum
*Piis ſecunda, vate me, datur fuga**.

Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 23, 1784.

* Offering its bleſsful iſles and happy ſeats,
Where annual Ceres crowns th' uncultur'd field,
And vines, unprun'd, their bluſhing cluſters yield;
Where olives, faithful to their ſeaſon, grow,
And figs with nature's deepeſt purple glow.
From hollow oaks, where honey'd ſtreams diſtil,
And bounds with noiſy foot the pebbl'd rill;
Where goats, untaught, forſake the flow'ry vale,
And bring their ſwelling udders to the pail.
Nor evening bears the ſheepfold growl around,
Nor mining vipers leave the tainted ground,
Nor wat'ry Eurus deluges the plain,
Nor heats exceſſive burn the ſpringing grain.

O'er the glad flocks no foul contagion ſpreads,
Nor ſummer ſun his burning influence ſheds.
Pure and unmix'd the world's firſt ages roll'd;
But ſoon as braſs had ſtain'd the flowing gold,
To iron harden'd by ſucceeding crimes,
Jove for the juſt preſerv'd theſe happy climes;
To which the gods their pious race invite,
And bid me, raptur'd bard, direct their flight.

Francis's Horace.

LETTER

LETTER XVII.

THE

SUBJECT OF EMIGRATION

CONTINUED:

THE

EMPLOYMENTS OF EMIGRANTS

IN AMERICA.

Omnium autem verum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil eſt agricultura melius, nihil ubericius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine, nihil libero, dignius.

CIC. *de* OFF.

LETTER XVII.

TO ——————

MY laſt letter was confined to an inquiry after a ſituation in the United States beſt adapted to the purpoſes of thoſe who are deſirous of emigrating to America, and of forming ſettlements in that country. The moſt advantageous occupations to be followed there will be my preſent ſubject.

Agriculture will be the general employment of thoſe who emigrate to America. Induſtrious, ſober, and attentive farmers, of knowledge in huſbandry, with a little money to begin a ſettlement, are ſure of acquiring, in a ſhort time, large and profitable farms. The fertility of the lands gives them aſſurances of plentiful crops, and the temperature of the climate gives them

them aſſurances of health to enjoy the fruits of them.

In my general introduction to the ſubject of emigration I have ſpoken curſorily of thoſe people, who, having been merchants, traders, or uſeful handicraftſmen, [illegible] fer ſettling in the great towns. [illegible] not in a condition to give en- [illegible]gement to manufacturers in general. [illegible]e following are thoſe who have alone a proſpect of ſucceſs.

All manufacturers of the coarſer parts of iron, which, from the expence and inconvenience of carriage, cannot be brought from a diſtance without great diſadvantage — all thoſe who have a mechanical turn in the greater or more uſeful manufactures of that metal, and which bear a relation to huſbandry and other tools, and to the conſtruction of mills of various kinds — builders, carpenters, joiners, maſons, bricklayers, plaſterers, ſmiths, glaziers, plumbers, and ſimilar uſeful trades — handi-

— handicraftſmen, ſuch as ſhoemakers, taylors, and ſuch kind of people — manufacturers of linen from Scotland or Ireland, alſo of coarſe cotton, may, in general, if they are ſober, ingenious men, practically and well verſed in their occupations, depend upon encouragement.

On the contrary, clothiers, ſilk and other weavers, Birmingham and Sheffield toy manufacturers, jewellers, coach-makers, and every other ſpecies of manufacturers which depends upon luxury, will find no employment. The preſent rage for luxury in the great towns may hold out a deluſive encouragement; but this will be for the reaſon which I have already given, merely temporary. When this evil (which I have already obſerved will cure itſelf, for the want of money to purchaſe European luxuries) is at an end, the emigrants of this ſpecies, who have found employment, muſt become labourers. This, however, will be an advantage, as labourers in America

rica are well clothed, and their labour abundantly paid.

But although the firſt ſpecies of manufacturers which I have deſcribed will, in general, find advantageous employments to themſelves, and may be rendered very uſeful during their reſidence in the towns, yet ſuch are the peculiar advantages attending agriculture, not only in the acquiſition of a ſtock of money, but in the acquiſition of a ſtock of health, that there are very few who have procured money ſufficient to make a ſettlement that will not prefer this mode of life to any other employment.

This will, therefore, produce beneficial effects. It will be a perpetual fund of advantage both to the American States and to perſons of thoſe occupations who are deſirous of emigrating to them. New ſettlements in the country will be continually forming by thoſe, who, having acquired knowledge by their reſidence in the States, may be aſſured of immediate ſucceſs, leaving

ving their occupations to ſimilar manufacturers and tradeſmen who emigrate to America. By theſe means the country will receive a conſtant increaſe of new inhabitants, and a profitable ſucceſſion of people be kept up in the towns.

Men of uſeful, rather than critical, literature, of ſound, rather than ſubtile, underſtandings, and of ſincere, rather than refined, manners, to ſuperintend the education of children, will find ample encouragement. America, eſpecially the interior parts, is in great want of ſuch characters. She has ſeveral ſeminaries of education, though by no means equal to the extent of the country. In theſe are many profeſſors of extenſive learning, and of comprehenſive minds. Men of clear and ſound underſtanding, and of acute and ſolid judgement, are, in general, much more frequently to be met with in America than in almoſt any other nation. Their writings do honour to the moſt finiſhed ſtile.

Agriculture muſt then be conſidered by thoſe who emigrate, as the firſt, all others as only ſecondary employments. But it is indiſpenſably requiſite to ſucceſs, that the emigrant be active and induſtrious. He muſt work in ſome ſhape or other, either by his head or his hands. The neceſſaries, the comforts, and the indulgences of life, may be procured by labour; but even the neceſſaries are not to be procured without it. America ſupports very fully the propriety of the proverb, "Idleneſs is the "parent of want, and of pain." No people are more ready to aſſiſt the ſtranger than the back ſettlers; but they expect to find in others the ſame activity and induſtry with which their own endeavours are exerted.

It would be an infringement of the rules of ſocial induſtry, a quality abſolutely neceſſary to the exiſtence of new ſettlements, were not this to be conſidered as an inviolable law. In ſuch countries, indolence is an evil which effects its own puniſhment,

ment, and muſt work out its own cure. The cup is within the reach of every man, full to the brim; but the exertion to take it muſt ariſe from himſelf. So long as he has the capacity, he cannot, and he ought not, to receive it from any other hand.

I have frequently made uſe of the term, indulgencies of life. I think an explanation neceſſary, leſt I ſhould be underſtood to mean its delicacies. No fanciful ornaments are here to be met with to adorn the perſon, or the high-flavoured ſauces of a French cook to pamper the body. It would be a wiſe conduct in thoſe who have been accuſtomed to this kind of life, and who are under the neceſſity of emigrating to America, to endeavour to find out ſome ſpot in Scotland or Ireland, where the manners of our forefathers are yet preſerved, and where all that is conſumed in the family is produced within its domain. In this manner will both food and raiment be procured in the part of America which I have been deſcribing.

The climate of Great Britain beſtows upon its inhabitants few of the indulgencies, and is often parſimonious of the neceſſaries of life. The climate of theſe parts of America not only grants to the people neceſſaries, but even indulgencies in abundance. Wine, beer, cyder, oil, will be produced in great plenty. Butcher's meat of all kinds, and every ſpecies of poultry and game, in exceſs. The mildneſs of the winter, the richneſs of the paſture, and the fertility of the corn lands, cauſe this great exuberance of proviſions. Food is, therefore, obtained with great eaſe. Our next care is raiment.

This, or the chief part of it, muſt be manufactured in the family. The country ſupplies ſufficient materials. I once ſaw in a family of diſtinction in Scotland, both woollen and linen cloth manufactured within the houſe, which were of a perfectly good quality. A great number of the emigrants to America are Iriſh and Scotch

Scotch manufacturers. Theſe have been uſefully employed already, in manufacturing linen in America. But America, like the Eaſt, ſupplies an equally, if not more pleaſant manufacture, that of cotton. Of this there is plenty, which has been long in uſe, not only in the back countries, but in ſome of the ſettled parts on the coaſt. South Carolina, many years ago, when ſhe was diſappointed of her uſual ſupply of woollen cloth from England, on account of the war, manufactured a ſufficient quantity of cotton for her negroes.

The faſhion is as immaterial as the texture; the leſs complex, the more pleaſant to the wearer. The Roman form of dreſs had a much greater ſimplicity than thoſe of the preſent inhabitants of Europe, whoſe cuſtoms originally ſprung from our ſavage anceſtors, the barbarous nations of the north. All the clothes, which were worn by many eminent Romans, were the produce of their own families. The

Emperor Auguſtus never made uſe of any other. Such examples, given at a time when the Romans had attained to the heighth of their power, proves that they were not ſingular. The luxury after this period, indeed, had no bounds ſet to it, but ended in the common ruin which ſpread through Rome and Italy. But the proof that this practice did exiſt amongſt the firſt people, is ſufficient to ſhew the facility of its execution, and, I am ſure, with much greater comfort; for we have the luxury of linen, to which the Romans were ſtrangers.

The furniture of our houſes becomes our next conſideration. The ſimplicity of our lives in theſe ſequeſtered ſpots will make the fine linens, the rich ſilks, and the coſtly furniture of Europe, unneceſſary and uſeleſs. Inſtead of admiring the works of art, we muſt content ourſelves with admiring the works of nature. Some of the vegetable productions produce both food

food and raiment, whilſt others preſent themſelves to the joiner, to be formed into plain and uſeful furniture for our habitations. In many parts, the earth yields iron for the harder purpoſes of providing food. In others, clays, which may be moulded into ſweet and wholeſome veſſels, made upon the ſpot, in uſeful ſhapes. We have only to ſtudy convenience and neatneſs; the comforts of life will follow, and amply ſupply the want of elegance and ſplendour.

The picture which ſome late writers have drawn of the miſerable ſtate of the emigrants, is truly ridiculous.

Thoſe who are deſirous of emigrating to America, and have no money to pay for their paſſage, endeavour to make an agreement with a maſter of a ſhip bound to that country. The maſter muſt be ſatisfied for the paſſage; the emigrants have no money to pay him: they, therefore,

agree to indent themſelves ſervants for a term, generally for four years, which is to make ſatisfaction to the maſter for the paſſage. Upon their arrival in America, it is neceſſary to find ſome method to exchange this indenture for money, or the maſter of the ſhip will receive no benefit. This can only be done by the emigrants engaging with ſome of the inhabitants of the country, to ſerve them as labourers during the term of years for which they have been indented; and this in conſideration of certain ſums of money, which they have agreed ſhall be paid to the maſter of the veſſel as a compenſation for the paſſage that he has given them.

Great numbers of indented ſervants have emigrated this year from Ireland, whoſe ſervitude is thus diſpoſed of: — They are treated with humanity and tenderneſs, have the ſame food as their maſters, and are plentifully ſupplied with the neceſſaries and comforts of life. If they have induſtry,

induſtry, and give ſatisfaction to their maſters, they cannot fail of procuring a ſettlement for themſelves.

There is alſo another ſpecies of emigrants who go from Ireland. Theſe are ſubſtantial farmers and houſeholders, who, with their families, have, this year, to the amount of ſeveral thouſands, already ſailed from Londonderry, Newry, and Belfaſt. They have not only ſufficient property to pay for their paſſage, but are able to raiſe a conſiderable ſum in money amongſt themſelves, which they carry with them. This they generally diſpoſe of in forming ſettlements in the interior parts of America. Inſtances may be given where a whole pariſh in Ireland has emigrated in this manner, poſſeſſed of conſiderable property.

In a country where the inhabitants have a temperate climate, and preſerve regularity of manners, they are in poſſeſ-

ſion, as a natural conſequence, of health and chearfulneſs. The family retire early to reſt, and awake early to labour. The diligence of the maſter is attended with ſucceſs, which ſoftens fatigue, and excites emulation. It is by ſuch means that the wilds of America have been turned into beautiful paſtures, and filled with inhabitants.

In ſuch happy climes, the natural diſtribution of time, and diſtinction of employments, have each their juſt and proper functions aſſigned them. The irregular cuſtoms of England are unknown here. Night is not turned into day, nor day into night. The morning will not be devoured by ſleep, nor ſhall we lounge at breakfaſt till one o'clock, dine at five or ſix, or amuſe ourſelves at Ranelagh till two or three in the morning. Theſe are the enjoyments which we leave behind us in Europe. Inſtead of carrying with us ſuch wretched habits, let ours be more

rational

rational purſuits, and let us ſay with Fabius Maximus, *Deos iratos Tarentinis relinquemus* — We will leave to the Tarentines their angry gods. — I ſhall continue this ſubject in my next letter. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 25, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

THE

SUBJECT OF EMIGRATION

CONTINUED;

UPON THOSE PERSONS ABOUT THE COURT WHO WILL PROBABLY LEAVE ENGLAND.

Quiſnam igitur liber? Sapiens, ſibique imperioſus
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent,
Reponſere cupidinibus contemnere honores
Fortis ——

HOR.

LETTER XVIII.

TO ——————

THE laſt in order, but the firſt in conſequence, is the proper arrangement of a regular plan of emigration. In this plan a combination ſhould be formed of perſons diſpoſed in ſuch adequate proportions, by the diſtribution of rank, property, and abilities, as to render them mutually aſſiſtant to each other. It is a prudent conduct, even in thoſe who change their abode from one ſettled country to another, to be previouſly made known to ſome of the inhabitants with whom they are in future to reſide. How much more neceſſary, therefore, is it for men who emigrate to a new country, where ſuch an opportunity of introduction is not to be procured, to be cautious how they proceed!

Many

Many difficulties muſt naturally occur to a ſingle perſon, which, to a number, could ſcarcely bear that name. Our attention ought, therefore, chiefly to be directed to the forming a proper ſociety; for it is not the clods of earth of which our country is compoſed, but the friends with whom we live, and to whom we are attached by mutual good offices, which engage our affection and regard. But before I enter upon the nature of the plan which I have mentioned, I ſhall take into the view the ſeveral ranks and orders of men in Great Britain whoſe intereſt or inclination leads them to emigrate to America.

My attention will be firſt directed to thoſe perſons who poſſeſs, or who are candidates for employments under the Crown, and who live within the circle of the Court, whether they are men of birth and diſtinction, or have riſen to rank by their abilities.

There are, amongſt theſe, perſons of the firſt rank, who do honour to the dignity they poſſeſs; and there are amongſt their connections men who have too much ſpirit to ſubmit to any yoke, when a free country opens its arms to receive them. There are others, on the contrary, of equal rank, or who live within the circle of the Court, who are leſs ſcrupulous. Of the latter I ſhall now ſpeak.

Theſe are either men of faſhion, who have no other ground or principle of action than what ariſes from the moſt diſagreeable qualities of the human mind, or perſons of diſtinction, in whom ſelf intereſt produces equally bad effects, though by different means. The latter are mere machines, guided by avarice or ambition. The former are the butterflies of the day, whoſe empty joys are confined to a taſte for dreſs or equipage, who are diſtinguiſhed by either the act of embelliſhing their gilded houſes, of decorating their elegant tables, or of ſhewing the excellence of their palate,

palate, by producing diſhes of the moſt exquiſite reliſh. Such men, to whatever party they belong, ought merely to be conſidered as the ornamental lumber of the palace; the property of every prince who poſſeſſes it. Theſe, therefore, can have no part in conſiderations upon the ſubject of emigration.

I come now to ſpeak of men of birth and diſtinction, poſſeſſed of great landed property, and of high deſert. If theſe ſubmit to unjuſtifiable meaſures, their minds muſt be either degraded to their ſituation, or they muſt have in contemplation an emigration to another country with the ſhattered remains of ſuch part of their fortunes as they can gather from their eſtates. When vaſt landed property is obliged to be expoſed to ſale, there are very few purchaſers to be met with; and, in general, ſettlements and intails are obſtacles to the ſale of moſt of the great Engliſh eſtates.

The condition of perſons in this ſituation, as well of men who have riſen to rank merely by their abilities, without the advantages of birth or fortune, differs in this circumſtance — the former poſſeſs the election of living a private life in their own country, by ſubmitting to its government — the latter are deprived of it for the want of ſufficient property to ſupport their rank. I ſuppoſe them to be equally men of principle, incapable of proſtituting themſelves, or their talents, to the ſupport of any corrupt government.

The making of an election by a perſon to leave his country, who has not the means of continuing in it with honour to himſelf, is ſoftened in ſome degree by its neceſſity: but to make an election, in which a man of birth and diſtinction, long uſed to habits of deference to his perſon, and indulgence of his deſires, ſurrenders up the means which procured them, is ſo ſevere a trial of his fortitude, as to become an act of exalted virtue.

Such inſtances are rare; but they may be found even in this degenerate age.

Want of riches in a republic is not attended with the reproach which it bears in a monarchical ſtate. In England, the road to honour, preferment, and the accumulation of wealth, is open to every man of talents in public life: but if the attainment of wealth be attended with loſs of principle, and a man of abilies rejects them with diſdain — if contentedly, viewing

——— *paternum*
*Splendet in menſa tenui ſalinum**,

He lives with frugality upon the little modicum which poſſeſſes, he will be a treaſure to a free ſtate. Men, who are capable of ſacrificing their intereſts to their

* ——— whoſe frugal board,
His father's plenty can afford.
Francis's Horace.

integrity,

integrity, muſt ever be a valuable acquiſition to the country which receives them.

I have ſaid there are amongſt the connections of men of rank and diſtinction, living within the circle of a Court, many men, who have too much ſpirit to ſubmit to a yoke, when a free country opens its arms to receive them. I am very deſirous of taking the ſtate of ſuch men into particular conſideration.

I do not mean the generality of the perſons employed in the public offices. Theſe have, in a manner, been educated in the ſchool of obedience, and have no will but that of the maſters whom they ſerve. When a new miniſterial ſyſtem of government was reduced into practice, and the Whigs were turned out of place, all their connections, to the loweſt clerks in office, were diſcharged from their employments. But when it was diſcovered that this violence would not gain the point aimed at, without a ſevere conteſt, and

that the means exiſted of obtaining it in a much leſs difficult manner, this practice ceaſed.

Since that period clerks in office have been ſtationary. Obedience to their principal, or rather to the ſecretary or deputy who is ſet as a watch over them, is alone required. There is generally in the public offices ſome ſtationary ſecretary, or chief clerk, who directs the buſineſs of it.

I have ſaid thus much upon this ſubject, in order to prevent any confuſion that might ariſe from the blending of characters. The mere clerks in office may therefore be added to the ſame lumber (though not ſo ornamental) which belongs to whatever prince poſſeſſes the palace. The perſons whoſe ſituation I wiſh to take into particular conſideration are the confidential friends of men of rank and diſtinction, who follow their fortunes, and who come in or go out of place with the party with whom they are connected.

Public

Public buſineſs cannot be carried on to advantage in any country, where thoſe perſons who are moſt capable of forming the executive part of government are ſubject to be diſplaced whenever a party prevails; nor, on the contrary, can any man of principle remain in office when no other ground of action is ſuffered than that of paſſive obedience. We have ſeen, by experience, that the manner in which a perſon is required to conduct himſelf in this ſituation will infallibly diſgrace them.

A genuine Whig cannot be dependent upon any principal or party, whoſe opinions do not coincide with his own. In leſſer points, for all men of the ſame party cannot be brought to an union of ſentiment, it is his duty to ſubmit his opinions to his ſuperiors; but, in all meaſures of importance, he has no ſuch duty to fulfil: he is to be guided by his own unbiaſſed judgement; and he is anſwerable to God alone for the proper employment of the

faculties which, in his providence, he has beſtowed upon him.

Granting the exiſtence of ſuch a ſtate, it muſt naturally follow that public buſineſs cannot be carried on to the greateſt advantage; neither can any of thoſe perſons, whom I particularly allude to, amongſt the Whig connections, (however qualified for it) remain in place. Such men cannot undergo the humiliating condition of becoming, like the ſtationary men in office, the mere inſtruments of obedience.

There are other difficulties which ſuch perſons labour under, even amongſt their own connections. A perſon of this deſcription may enjoy the full confidence of a leading member in the government: he may enjoy the friendſhip of the miniſter himſelf, and have not only free acceſs to his perſon, but to other parts of adminiſtration; all of whom may have a good opinion of his parts and integrity. He

may

may be attentive and active in the buſineſs of his office: he may eſtabliſh in it great and material reforms, and be otherwiſe employed in important public affairs: farther, as he, in a manner, lives amidſt the members of adminiſtration, he neceſſarily becomes acquainted with almoſt every public tranſaction: yet, a perſon with all theſe capital advantages, and whoſe ſituation is the object of envy and reſpect, muſt poſſeſs other leſs eſtimable qualifications before he can ſucceed in any profitable views for himſelf or his family.

His ill ſucceſs ariſes from the voluptuouſneſs of manners which pervades almoſt every corner of England, eſpecially the principal families. The faſhionable vices of gaming and high living are become, by this means, ſo very prevalent, that a ſimilarity of manners can only ſecure the friendſhip of thoſe in whoſe hands are the iſſues of lucrative employments. Good dinners are an excellent, and the moſt certain, road to preferment.

I am ſenſible that there are many perſons of the firſt diſtinction in England, who are wholly free from theſe views: but this ſingular moderation of conduct, in men of rank and family, is generally connected with mildneſs of diſpoſition and eaſe of temper. Theſe qualities continually ſubject them to be overborne by men who, having bolder features in their character, not only ſet the world at defiance in private life, but aſſume the lead in all matters of party. It may happen that ſuch a perſon is connected with a man who has riſen to rank by his abilities alone: but although thoſe abilities have commanded a high ſituation for himſelf, ſuch is the jealouſy entertained of great talents which have not the fortuitous aſſiſtance of birth and riches to ſupport them, that they are not ſuffered (quitting the common routine of office) to be exerted by the ſelection of proper perſons, however adapted their capacities may be for particular employments.

Beſides,

Beſides, although the Whig leaders are faithful ſtewards for the public, they are moſt miſerable patrons. They are themſelves practiſed in the virtues of integrity and diſintereſtedneſs to an eminent degree. In a private capacity, they are kind, indulgent, and affectionate. Their purſes, whenever it is in their power, are open to reward and relieve — their time chearfully employed to comfort and aſſiſt their friends. Yet even a knowledge of circumſtances, which, in a private ſituation, would have a full and immediate effect upon their affections, has no manner of influence when the deſired reward for ſervice is to proceed from the public purſe.

But although they are thus callous, almoſt to the entire neglect of their friends, the public receives no benefit; for theſe very rewards are often ſuffered to be enjoyed by thoſe who are not only without attachment, but who are very frequently inimical to them. This conduct ariſes from no other motive than the fear of being

being accuſed of partiality in the diſtribution of employments.

I may, perhaps, be ſuppoſed by many to have dwelt too long upon this ſubject; but I had not only in view the particular ſituation of the perſons whom I have deſcribed, but I was deſirous of explaining ſome circumſtances which are ill underſtood by the public with reſpect to the perſons themſelves. Their ſituation in England is very precarious. Should there be a change of adminiſtration, they muſt know, by experience, that they have no proſpect of enjoying ſufficient emoluments to admit even thoſe common ſatisfactions, which, in their rank of life, they have reaſon to expect. If this event ſhould not take place, they have a certainty of ſtill more grievous diſappointment.

The propriety, therefore, of ſuch perſons removing from a country where they have little to expect, and much to fear, to ſettle in a riſing ſtate, where, on the contrary,

trary, their hopes greatly exceed their apprehenſions, ſeems not to admit of doubt. So long as the preſent ſyſtem remains in England, there will be an uneaſy dependence, which obtains not only in ſuch perſons whom I have mentioned, but in every perſon whatever belonging to adminiſtration, even to the miniſter himſelf; ſo long, therefore, will the ſituation of perſons dependent upon a Court be rendered weary and troubleſome. — My ſubject increaſes upon me ſo much, that I muſt refer the conſideration of the ſituation of thoſe perſons who will probably emigrate to America to another letter. — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 27, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

THE

SUBJECT OF EMIGRATION

CONTINUED.

UPON THE DIFFERENT RANKS OF PEOPLE WHO WILL PROBABLY LEAVE ENGLAND.

Incipe cum paupertate habere commercium.
Aude, Hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
Finge Deo ———

Nemo alius est Deo dignus, quam qui opes contempsit. Quarum possessione tibi non enterdico; sed efficere volo, ut illas intrepide possideas. Quod uno consequeris modo, si te etiam sine illis beatè victurum persuaseris tibi; si illas tanquam exituras semper adspexeris.

SENECA.

LETTER XIX.

TO ———————

I SHALL now quit the Court for the city, and inquire into the ſtate of thoſe who will moſt probably emigrate from it. In the obſervations which I have made upon the manners of this age, I have remarked the expenſive life of the people in general. Amongſt theſe are the far greater part of the merchants and tradeſmen; which, combined with the general complaints of the decay of trade, and the want of money, naturally leads us to reflect upon the end of ſuch unuſual and dangerous appearances. I do not think it neceſſary to examine into the means by which this expence is ſupported. This I know to be precarious. I merely recommend

mend an inquiry how long they will probably laſt.

It will be found, on this inquiry being made, that the countenance of this manner of life in the city will laſt ſo long as the credit of the mercantile intereſt is preſerved, and that it muſt ceaſe with the firſt violent blow which that intereſt receives. We know that the debts which appear on the different books, firſt, of the merchants who ſhip goods—next, on thoſe of the great tradeſmen who ſell for export—and laſtly, of the ſhopkeepers of the metropolis in general, conſtitute the bulk of the property, upon the ſtrength of which theſe heavy expences are ſupported. We alſo know, that there is every reaſon to expect a ſtill greater increaſe of the grievances which are the ſubject of complaint. It amounts, therefore, to a demonſtration, that it is every day drawing nearer and nearer to an end.

I have

I have already ſhewn that we ought not to place a dependence either upon the payment of the former debt due from the citizens of America, or the more recent engagements which have been entered into for the goods exported to thoſe States ſince the peace. The country has been too much reduced, by the war that Great Britain waged againſt her, to be in the capacity of diſcharging them. As little reaſon have we to expect the ſolvency of the Eaſt-India Company, in whoſe fate the city is ſo deeply involved. Theſe two events will be amongſt the calamitous blows which the commercial intereſt will receive, and by which their particular grievances will be increaſed.

The landed intereſt has been alſo ſhewn to have its full ſhare of the evils to which the country, in its preſent ſtate, is ſubject, and therefore equally incapable of ſuſtaining the burden of its debts. The payments at preſent are ſo partially made, that a general ceſſation does not appear to

be very far diſtant. The intereſt of money, ariſing from the immenſe mortgages with which this intereſt is incumbered, and which muſt be paid, is collected at this time by the mortgagee with great difficulty. We are drawing near to the criſis to which all countries immerſed in luxury, and burdened with taxes, are ſubject: a criſis too often accompanied by a revolution fatal to its liberty.

A ſtile of living, maintained wholly upon credit, and ſubſiſted merely upon hope, cannot therefore be laſting; and ſuch is the chain which binds ſociety to each other, that when a ſingle link fails, the whole is broken. When the debtor is become incapable of payment, the tradeſman who truſted him is reduced to the ſame incapacity; the debt being an imaginary ſubſtance, to be found only in books.

In ſuch a ſtate there is no tolerable remedy for a ruined Engliſhman to avoid diſtreſs

diſtreſs than to conſolidate the broken wrecks of his fortune, and form a ſettlement in America. The man who has lived in ſplendour cannot deſcend to mean employments at home; the witneſſes of his former proſperity are offenſive to his feelings: he exchanges, with pleaſure, the ſcene of his misfortunes for a ſettlement in a diſtant country, where he can again begin the world with new hopes and expectations.

The ſame grievances equally exiſt in the country as in the city; chiefly amongſt the manufacturers, (who have ſupplied the orders for America) the merchants, bankers, and capital tradeſmen. As few payments will be made to the manufacturers for the goods which they have already ſold, farther orders cannot be executed. In conſequence, great numbers of the workmen muſt be diſcharged for want of employment. This will be a common evil to the whole country, in which every one will bear his ſhare.

The inhabitants of the country depend, in ſome meaſure, upon each other. Perſons who retire from buſineſs generally inveſt their money either in mortgages or the public funds, or in lending money at intereſt to thoſe who remain in trade. The inferior tradeſmen, and the workmen in the different fabrics, rely ſolely upon the merchants and manufacturers for employment. When, therefore, the decay of trade becomes ſo great, that the commercial intereſt in London is unable to reſiſt the torrent, their country connections will fall with them; in which caſe, all the inhabitants whom I have mentioned muſt be involved in one common fate.

As a greater ſobriety of manners prevails in the country, the ſufferings of the people will be leſs ſevere than thoſe of the capital. It might, therefore, be expected that the emigration from thence would not be ſo conſiderable; but there is one cauſe which will operate in favour of emigration. The inhabitants are of very diligent

ligent habits, and much diſpoſed to induſtry. Theſe, finding no means in Great Britain capable of extricating them from their difficulties, will be naturally led to emigrate to a country from whence they already derive the moſt promiſing expectations.

The farmers, the moſt valuable of the whole body of the emigrators, fill up the rear of this long liſt. Theſe, having ſhared in the general proſperity which reſulted from the peace of 1762, followed the example of their neighbours, indulging themſelves with many ſuperfluities, to which they had before been ſtrangers. Agriculture being then a profitable occupation, the farmers had an opportunity of raiſing a capital of their own. With this money they were enabled to bid againſt each other for farms, many of which were conſolidated by the landlords, and the rents advanced, as faſt as the leaſes fell in. By theſe means eſtates, in general,

were greatly raiſed in value through the kingdom.

So long as the national proſperity continued, theſe rents were not only punctually paid, but the lands, in general, improved. The country being, however, now fallen into a ſtate of decay, the farmers are become incapable of continuing the ſame rents. They have not only ſacrificed the little property which they had accumulated, but are now ſo much in debt, that they have no other means of fully ſatisfying their landlords than by ſurrendering their ſtock in payment. This many of them have already been obliged to do, and to quit their farms.

There are few eſtates where the rents are not at this time greatly in arrear. The farmers, therefore, in general, find ſuch difficulty in living upon their farms, even in the moſt frugal manner, that many have already expreſſed a ſtrong deſire to emigrate to America. They want only

only the means to put it in practice. This diſpoſition is not confined to the common farmers, who have only a leaſe of lands: it is extended to a large body, who have ſmall eſtates of their own, which they cultivate themſelves. Theſe, finding ſimilar difficulties, have an equally ſtrong inclination to emigrate. A difficulty in the diſpoſal of their eſtates forms the chief obſtruction to their deſire. They would each of them, in their different ſtations, be uſeful ſubjects. The one would be found induſtrious maſters; the other diligent labourers.

I have now, as I originally deſigned, gone through the ſeveral ranks of men in Great Britain whoſe inclination or intereſt leads them to emigrate to America. I except the common people alone, who muſt follow the fate of thoſe who will give them employment, either at home or abroad. It is evident that there are great numbers of people, who are either deſirous, or who will be obliged by neceſſity

to emigrate to America; ſome in tolerable circumſtances, ſome without any property at all: many who make amends for the want of property by their abilities; others by activity: two very eſſential qualities to the well-being of a new ſettlement. In ſhort, there are few people, who, if they have good diſpoſitions, may not be rendered uſeful to each other in a plan of emigration, compoſed of perſons judiciouſly combined together.

Many advantages ariſe from ſuch aſſociations. Emigration is at all times attended with ſome difficulties, eſpecially to thoſe who embark ſingly, or even in ſmall parties, without the neceſſary precaution of forming a regular plan of ſociety for the purpoſe. The ſettlement of an aſſociation upon a conſiſtent and extenſive plan prevents theſe embarraſſments. Thoſe who compoſe ſuch a ſociety, becoming previouſly acquainted with each other, are enabled to fix upon the neceſſary arrangements with eaſe and ſatisfaction.

An

An aſſociation, formed upon the ſyſtematic plan of founding a conſiderable ſettlement, ſhould comprehend within it all the views neceſſary for its eſtabliſhment and proſperity. Every member ought to have his poſt aſſigned him. Some of them ſhould be ſent over to lay the foundation of a new ſettlement. Others ſhould be fixed in the neareſt American ſeaports to receive the emigrants which are ſent from the ſociety to ſtrengthen the ſettlement, as well as the other ſupplies neceſſary for its improvement and ſucceſs; whilſt another part of the aſſociation (conſtantly receiving an acceſſion of new members) ought to remain at home, to ſend out ſupplies, and to diſpoſe of any returns of merchandize which the ſettlers might find for their advantage to ſend them: in ſhort, to ſuperintend the affairs of the ſociety in general, or of thoſe of any particular member in it, who ſhould have occaſion for their aſſiſtance.

In the arrangements of the different parts of the aſſociation, regard ſhould be paid to the properly contraſting the perſons who find money with thoſe who have only labour to offer, that the whole may be rendered uſeful to each other. Many members may have abilities adequate to the direction and management of the whole, or of different parts of the undertaking, and yet not be poſſeſſed of property: other members may have property, without theſe neceſſary abilities. The labour of the one, and the property of the other, muſt be made ſubſervient to each other in ſuch a manner as to promote the general good of the whole.

Thoſe who have the greateſt knowledge of America ought to be ſent out to examine the country, and to fix upon a proper ſituation to eſtabliſh the ſettlement. When this is determined upon, a part of the aſſociation muſt be ſelected for the purpoſe of forming it, attended by uſeful handicraftſmen and labourers, and equipped with

with tools and all other neceſſaries for a plantation. The members who, as I have already remarked, ſhould be fixed in the neareſt American ſeaport, might be previouſly diſpatched in order to receive them.

This embarkation of ſettlers ſhould be choſen from thoſe who have abilities, whether they have property or not, as the firſt eſtabliſhment is attended with the greateſt difficulties, and requires both a ſolid judgement to plan, and an operative vigour to execute. Beſides, if there are a ſufficient number of members who have abilities, without property, it is reaſonable that, as the forming the ſettlement is the moſt difficult part, they ſhould be made choice of for the firſt expedition. That thoſe who find money ſhould alſo find an eſtabliſhment provided for them againſt their arrival. The indented ſervants will in courſe be provided for in the uſual manner: but a portion of land ought to be aſſigned to them at the end of their terms of ſervitude.

All

All manner of uſeful handicraftſmen muſt form a part of the undertaking. Capenters, maſons, ſmiths, and every other trade that bears any relation to agriculture or building. When the ſettlement is ſo much increaſed as to ſtand in need of ſuperior mechanical profeſſions, as engineers, millwrights, or builders, ſuch perſons will eaſily be induced to join the aſſociation, from the ample encouragement which they would be certain to receive.

A few obſervations upon the firſt expeditions to America, and upon the aſſent of the Government to emigrations at this time, will conclude the ſubject. I ſhall refer them to my next letter, and now bid you farewel.

From on board the Britannia, at ſea,
Nov. 30, 1784.

LETTER

LETTER XX.

THE

SUBJECT OF EMIGRATION

CONTINUED;

THE

SITUATION OF THE FIRST AND PRESENT

SETTLERS OF AMERICA

CONTRASTED;

AND THE WHOLE CONCLUDED.

Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.

VIRG.

LETTER XX.

TO ———

ALL the American colonies were founded upon ſimilar inſtitutions. It may probably be objected to me, that very few of the firſt ſettlers were ſucceſsful: they were chiefly deſtroyed either by famine or diſeaſe, or by the arrows of the Indians, whoſe territories they uſurped. The illuſtrious Penn, the firſt and moſt humane of lawgivers, is the only exception amidſt the various ſettlements of the great continent of the weſtern world. It is neceſſary, in order to remove theſe objections, to inquire into the cauſe of this ill ſucceſs.

The whole country was at that time a wilderneſs, the few inhabitants in it hoſtile, and the climate, particularly on the

ſea

ſea coaſt, (where the ſettlers were obliged to eſtabliſh themſelves) very indifferent. A variety of cauſes reduced them to the neceſſity of making this choice. Their poſſeſſions were narrow, and circumſcribed —the ſpot upon which they landed was their whole eſtate; for the title to which they were indebted alone to the ſuperiority of their arms. A proximity to the ſea, from whence they came, was therefore neceſſary to their ſafety, that they might be open to ſupplies from the mother country; without which they could not have expected long to ſubſiſt.

The event ſhewed the wiſdom of this choice. It proved the only means by which the ſurviving ſettlers were preſerved amidſt the diſtreſs and diſorder of their firſt eſtabliſhment. Many periſhed. The diſtance from the mother country, and the civil commotions which reigned in it, ſoon after the firſt ſettlement of America, preventing general relief, ſome ſettlements were wholly ruined and broken up, the

inhabitants

inhabitants dying of diſeaſe and want of food. Thoſe who remained were indebted for their preſervation to the partial ſupplies which they received, abating, in ſome degree, the daily and ſevere trials which theſe poor people endured, and which they bore with exemplary patience and reſignation. This ſpirit of perſeverance, joined to the activity and induſtry which the firſt ſettlers poſſeſſed, and which their deſcendants have inherited from them, have been the cauſe of their great and wonderful increaſe.

Thus was America ſituated in the time of the firſt ſettlers of that country. The ſtate in which emigrants will now find it forms a very ſtrong contraſt. The New England, and the ſea coaſts of all the other ſtates, are well ſettled, and full of people. Even the back countries of the middle and ſouthern ſtates I have ſhewn to be filled with great and profitable farms, extending, in many parts, to the mountains, ſeveral hundred miles from the ſea.

In the midſt of theſe countries are large and populous towns. On the coaſts are great and powerful cities.

Inſtead, therefore, of labouring under diſeaſe and want, from not receiving ſupplies from the mother country; inſtead of being under the neceſſity of forming eſtabliſhments in the midſt of enemies, the preſent emigrants will now ſettle in the midſt of friends, ſpeaking their own language, and following their own cuſtoms — in the midſt of towns, where, in caſe of want, they may purchaſe all the neceſſary inſtruments for planting — in a plentiful country, where they will find food in abundance — in a temperate climate, where the few garments they want may be procured with eaſe and chearfulneſs.

They alſo receive another great advantage by the aſſiſtance of the farmers of the country, in the forming of their ſettlements. Theſe, from the natural deſire of

augmenting the number of their neighbours, are ſtimulated to render every facility in their power to new comers. The whole country has been thus formed out of the wilderneſs. Settlers have aſſiſted each other in clearing thoſe fertile regions, till they have at length reached the mountains, from whence there is now either a fleet of boats on the water, or a ſtring of waggons on the road, loaded with the fruits of their labours. Theſe they carry for ſale to the ſea ports. As the country increaſes in inhabitants, the farms increaſe in value. The encouragement, therefore, which they afford to new ſettlers by their aſſiſtance, is rewarded by the benefits which their eſtates derive from this increaſe of people.

There are, doubtleſs, many perſons in Great Britain who will think the picture which I have drawn of the ſtate of that country ſomewhat overcharged. I have taken ſo decided a part myſelf, that I muſt be ſuppoſed to write from conviction:

but even allowing, for the ſake of argument, that I have been miſtaken in ſome points, it is impoſſible that even ſuch perſons can be wholly free from apprehenſion. The queſtion, therefore, that ought to weigh with them is, whether it would not be prudent to make ſome proviſion againſt an event of magnitude, which cannot poſſibly amend their circumſtances in any great degree, yet may produce to them ruinous conſequences? They would not, in ſuch a caſe, purſue a conduct that would more conduce to prepare them for the event, than by embarking in the plan of aſſociation which I have deſcribed. It would not carry them to America per force. They would have the opportunity of remaining at home, and ſuperintending the ſociety, till the national affairs were brought to ſuch a criſis as would enable them to make an election.

Such perſons would then reap the very capital advantage of poſſeſſing property in both countries. By this means they would.

would be always aſſured of ſome place of ſecurity. If the affairs of Great Britain took ſuch a dangerous turn as to render it a matter of too great hazard to remain in it, the ſettlement of the aſſociation in America would be ready to receive them. If they took a favourable turn, their property in America (if the ſettlement was judiciouſly made) would make them a return of profit manifold. In every caſe they would be the gainers. In one ſituation, this conduct would prove their preſervation: in both, it would be increaſing their wealth.

I ſhall, perhaps, be aſked for the authority upon which I have grounded my aſſurances of the practical execution of this plan in Great Britain? and whether it is probable that the Government will ſuffer ſuch an aſſociation to take place?

To the laſt of theſe queſtions I ſhall anſwer, without heſitation, Yes: and I ſhall then give the following reaſons in ſupport

of the authority upon which I ground theſe aſſurances:

I do not conceive that any Adminiſtration would venture to lay any reſtraint upon emigration; but when a great number of people, oppreſſed with taxes, either reduced to beggary for want of employment, or their property waſting in ſuch a manner as to make them daily apprehenſive of this misfortune — when ſuch perſons, I ſay, have an aſylum held out to them, in which they ſee a clear and certain proſpect of the reſtoration of their affairs, is it probable that they would not, by ſome means, evade an obedience to a government which could impoſe ſuch a reſtriction upon their natural rights?

The prince of any country would indeed be very ill adviſed, ſhould he retain in his dominions, by force, a number of hoſtile ſubjects, if, full of reſentment to his miniſters, they conſidered them as the cauſe of all their calamities. It would

be

be adding inſult to inſult to deny them the liberty of retiring in peace, the only method in which they might be deſirous of expreſſing their ſenſe of the injuries which had been done to them.

I have now to deſire both your pardon and indulgence. The one, for any matter in theſe letters which takes up unneceſſarily your time: the other, for the errors which may have involuntarily ſlipped from me. For the firſt I have no other excuſe than what your kindneſs will ſuggeſt for me: for the laſt I have to plead the inconveniencies of a voyage, and the want of thoſe references which are uſeful in many parts of ſuch a work as this. If I have miſtaken any circumſtance, I am wholly unconſcious of it. I have taken pains to avoid it, and I believe I have been correct.

I am now arrived at the laſt ſtage of the journey which I have undertaken. It has been hitherto performed with many a

weary and painful ſtep, very much reſembling my own journey of life. The beginning of that journey was indeed proſperous; for I entered the world full of gaiety and expectation, the glory of being an Engliſhman elating my ſoul, the happineſs of my country gladdening my heart: but I had not travelled far before the day grew black with clouds, and ſtorms and tempeſts gathered round about me. The howling winds made me their ſport. Driven about by the jarring elements, I flee for my life from the violence of the ſtorm.

I have long foreſeen the conſequence of the tempeſt that has been thus gathering round about us. Its ſavage force, ſpent upon the American coaſts, has recoiled with ten-fold ſtrength upon our own country, where it now rages with unbridled fury, and from whence it will drive the beſt and wiſeſt of her people to ſeek refuge in the weſtern world.

I ſhall

I ſhall receive the moſt ſenſible gratification, if, in the courſe of my remaining life, now dedicated to the ſervice of a great and riſing country, I can render aſſiſtance to my old and valued friends in England. The moſt ſalutary advice in my power to give them is, to prepare early for the event by ſome ſimilar aſſociation to that which I have recommended. Their principles will be ſafe — their future lives will be peaceful and happy.

The name of Engliſhman ſhall not die! It ſhall live in the manners, the cuſtoms, the foreſts of America. It ſhall receive the awful remains of Engliſh Whigs, "*ultima Romanorum*," whoſe principles were coeval with the firſt inhabitants of the American States. Theſe ſhall again mix with their deſcendants, who, equally jealous of their rights, have purchaſed their liberties at a high price — the price of blood.

Si quandò Tybrim vicinaque Tybridis arva
Intrâro, gentique meæ data mœnia cernam,
Cognataſque urbes olim, populoſque propinquos
Epiro, Heſperia, quibus idem Dardanus auctor,
Atque idem caſus; unam faciemus utramque
Trojam animis; maneat noſtros ea cura nepotes *.

If, as the illuſtrious Wanderer tells us, I enter America, and cultivate her fertile fields—if I behold her numerous and buſy towns filled with the Engliſh name, the common origin which gave us birth, and the misfortunes which ſeparated us, and which have driven me from my native

* If e'er the gods, whom I, with vows, adore,
Conduct my ſteps to Tiber's happy ſhore;
If ever I aſcend the Latian throne,
And build a city I can call my own.
As both of us our birth from Troy derive,
So let our kindred lines in concord live,
And both in acts of equal friendſhip ſtrive.
Our fortunes, good or bad, ſhall be the ſame;
The double Troy ſhall differ but in name:
That what we now begin may never end,
But long to late poſterity deſcend.
Dryden's Virgil.

home,

home, will never be eraſed from my remembrance. The ſame religious attention ſhall deſcend to my poſterity. Even the name itſelf, planted in a new land, ſhall render it equivocal to future ages.

Certus enim promiſit Apollo
Ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram *.

But I am now ſaluted with the cry of land—the low ſhores of the country preſent themſelves to our view.

——— *humilemque videmus*
Italiam, Italiam primus conclamat Achates.
Italiam læto ſocio clamore ſalutant †.

* Another Salamis, in foreign clime,
With rival pride, ſhall raiſe her head ſublime.
Francis's Horace.

† ——— from far, like bluiſh miſts, decry
The hills, and then the plains of Italy;
Achates firſt pronounc'd the joyful ſound,
Then Italy the chearful crew rebound.
Dryden's Virgil.

I muſt,

I muſt, therefore, take my leave of you. I do it by committing you to the providence of GOD, who, in the midſt of the raging of the tempeſt, ſaith unto the ſtormy waves, "Be ſtill." — Farewel.

From on board the Britannia, in ſight of the coaſt of South Carolina, Dec. 2, 1784.

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